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LIVY

VII

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**LIVY**  
**HISTORY OF ROME**  
**BOOKS XXVI-XXVII**

**WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY**  
**FRANK GARDNER MOORE**



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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

VOLUME VII, containing Books XXVI and XXVII, covers the years 211 to 207 B.C., thus including as its principal moments Hannibal at the gates of Rome, the fall of Capua, the successes of Scipio in Spain, Fabius' recovery of Tarentum, Marcellus' inglorious end in an ambushade, Hasdrubal's descent into Italy, his defeat and death at the Metaurus.

Again, as in Vol. VI, the editor is under unlimited obligations to the Oxford text of Conway and Johnson, Vol. IV, 1934, but indebted in varying degrees to many earlier editors—a goodly company. All citations of the Puteanus in the critical notes have been verified in the well-known facsimile. Beginning with Book XXVI our textual resources are largely increased by the store of recorded readings of another famous MS. which no longer survives, and these are often to be preferred to those of the Puteanus. Particular care has been taken to indicate passages where a gap in *P*—whose scribe yawned all too frequently—is filled from the lost Spirensis; also where it was the latter who nodded, while *P* shows no omission. The capital importance of this double tradition for books XXVI–XXX has led the editor, with Conway and Johnson, to stress the readings of Aldus and Froben, as having had access to MS. material no longer directly available. In view of our limited space citation of recent editors has been necessarily restricted.

## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

To the publishers of the *Cambridge Ancient History* we are grateful for permission to use with alterations five maps from its Vols. VIII and IX. The map of Latium and Campania follows in the main that of Heinrich Kiepert in Vol. X, part 2, of the *C.I.L.* That of New Carthage is drawn in part from an Admiralty chart, in part from H. H. Scullard's *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War*, p. 290, Cambridge, 1930. The latter's map was based chiefly on that of Canovas in *Estudios geograficos-historicos de Cartagena*, 1905, a local work which could not be found in this country. Used by Scullard, and to be consulted by the reader, is also the map of J. L. Strachan-Davidson in his *Selections from Polybius*, Oxford, 1888. The map of Tarentum in Vol. VI has been revised to show the Appian Way in its latest extension, also the large area occupied by tombs, but inside the walls. Adding to space covered by the necropolis the area occupied by villas and gardens, we find hardly one-third left for the city proper. Thus Tarentum resembled Syracuse in having fortified a much larger area than that required by the city itself (cf. Vol. VI, p. 505).

## THE MANUSCRIPTS

*P* = codex Puteanus, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 5730, 5th century.

From this are descended the following :

*C* = Colbertinus, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 5731, 10th century.

*R* = Romanus, Vatican Library, 9th century.

*M* = Mediceus, Florence, Laurentian Library, 10th century.

*B* = Bambergensis, Bamberg, 11th century.

*D* = Cantabrigiensis, Trinity College, Cambridge, 12th century.

*A* = Agennensis, British Museum, 13th century.

*N* = Laurentianus Notatus, Florence, 13th century.

Arabic numbers in parentheses indicate the agreement of MSS. derived from *P*. Thus (1) = *CRMBDA*, and (3) = three or more of the same list.

A different text tradition was represented by a codex Spirensis, 11th century, now lost with the exception of one leaf. This codex was copied from a MS. of which some leaves were loose and separated from their context. It is known to us from the single extant leaf and from many citations of its readings. Thus, beginning with book XXVI, we have in addition to deal with another tradition of the text :

*S* = Spirensis, 11th century ; now only a single folium at Munich, covering XXVIII. xxxix. 16 to xli. 12.

## THE MANUSCRIPTS

*Sp* = readings of *S* cited by Rhenanus in Froben's 2nd edition, 1535 (*Sp*? if not expressly cited).  
*Ta* = fragments no longer extant of a Turin palimpsest, 5th century; a copy of a MS. from which *S* was descended. The fragments were from XXVII and XXIX only.

Some of the MSS. derived from *P* were altered or supplemented by scribes who had compared another MS. descended from *S*. Hence *A'* and *N'* will indicate changes thus made (14th and 13th century respectively).

Corrections thought to be by the original scribe are marked *e.g.* : *P*<sup>1</sup>, those by later hands *P*<sup>2</sup>, *P*<sup>3</sup>, etc. ; corrections which cannot be thus distinguished : *P*<sup>z</sup> (chiefly deletions); and so for other MSS.

Of MSS. partly derived from *P* and partly from *S* two are cited, both of the 15th century and in the British Museum :

*J* = Burneianus 198, and *K* = Harleianus 2781.

Further to be noted :

*x* = an inferior MS., or inferior MSS., 15th century, or rarely 14th. But for the meaning of *P*<sup>z</sup>, *A*<sup>z</sup>, etc., see above.

*y* = late correction or addition in a MS., *e.g.* *A'*.

*z* = early editor or commentator. Aldus and Froben are usually cited expressly, Froben (*sic*) standing for the agreement of his two editions.

For details see the Oxford text of Conway and Johnson, Vol. IV.

## BOOK XXVI

T. LIVI  
AB URBE CONDITA

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I. CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS P. Sulpicius Galba  
consules cum idibus Martiis magistratum inissent,  
senatu in Capitolium vocato, de re publica, de ad-  
ministratione belli, de provinciis exercitibusque patres  
2 consuluerunt. Q. Fulvio Ap. Claudio, prioris anni  
consulibus, prorogatum imperium est atque exercitus  
quos habebant decreti, adiectumque ne a Capua,  
quam obsidebant, abscederent prius quam expugnas-  
3 sent.<sup>1</sup> Ea tum cura maxime intentos habebat  
Romanos, non ab ira tantum, quae in nullam umquam  
civitatem iustior fuit, quam quod urbs tam nobilis  
4 ac potens, sicut defectione sua traxerat aliquot popu-  
los, ita recepta inclinatura rursus animos videbatur  
5 ad veteris imperii respectum. Et praetoribus prioris

<sup>1</sup> expugnassent *z Aldus* : oppugnassent *P(1)JK*.

<sup>1</sup> The first session of the senate was then regularly held  
on the Capitol in the Temple of Jupiter; XXIII. xxxi. 1;

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FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY  
BOOK XXVI

I. GNAEUS FULVIUS CENTUMALUS and Publius Sul-  
picius Galba, the consuls, having entered upon office B.C. 311  
on the Ides of March, summoned the senate to the  
Capitol <sup>1</sup> and consulted the fathers in regard to the  
state, the conduct of the war, and the provinces and  
armies. The military authority of Quintus Fulvius  
and Appius Claudius, consuls of the previous year,  
was continued, and the armies which they had were  
assigned to them, with orders in addition that they  
were not to withdraw from Capua, which they were  
besieging, until they had taken the city. That affair  
claimed the closest attention of the Romans at  
the time, not so much because of anger, which has  
never been more justified against any state, as  
because a city so important and powerful, which by  
its revolt had drawn with it a number of communities,  
in like manner, if recovered, might turn the scale  
to respect, so it seemed, for the old authority.  
And for the praetors of the previous year, Marcus

XXIV. x. 1; and the new year began on the Ides of March;  
xxvi. 5; XXVII. vii. 7.

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anni, M. Iunio in Etruria, P. Sempronio in Gallia, cum binis legionibus quas habuerant prorogatum est imperium. Prorogatum et M. Marcello, ut pro consule in Sicilia reliqua belli perficeret eo exercitu quem haberet; si supplemento opus esset, suppleret de legionibus quibus P. Cornelius pro praetore in Sicilia praeesset, dum ne quem militem legeret ex eo numero quibus senatus missionem reditumque in patriam negasset ante belli finem. C. Sulpicio, cui Sicilia evenerat, duae legiones quas P. Cornelius habuisset decretae et supplementum de exercitu Cn. Fulvii, qui priore anno in Apulia foede caesus fugatusque erat. Huic generi militum senatus eundem quem Cannensibus finem statuerat militiae. Additum etiam utrorumque ignominiae est ne in oppidis hibernarent neve hiberna propius ullam urbem decem milibus passuum aedificarent. L. Cornelio in Sardinia duae legiones datae quibus Q. Mucius praefuerat; supplementum, si opus esset, consules scribere iussi. T. Otacilio et M. Valerio Siciliae Graeciaeque orae<sup>1</sup> cum legionibus classibusque quibus praeerant decretae; quinquaginta Graecia cum legione una, centum Sicilia cum duabus legionibus habebat<sup>2</sup> naves. Tribus et viginti legionibus Romanis eo anno bellum terra marique est gestum.

II. Principio eius anni cum de litteris L. Marcii referretur, res gestae magnificae senatui visae:

<sup>1</sup> orae *Walters*: ora *P(1)JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> habebat *Walters*: habebant *P(1)JK.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXIV. xviii. 9; XXV. vii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Not including the army in Spain; cf. XXIV. xi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXV. xxxvii. ff.

Iunius in Etruria, Publius Sempronius in Gaul, their command was continued, with the two legions which each had held; the command of Marcus Marcellus also was continued, that as proconsul in Sicily he might finish the remainder of the war with the army which he had. If he should need reinforcements, he should provide them from the legions which Publius Cornelius, the propraetor, commanded in Sicily, provided he did not enlist any soldier from the number of those to whom the senate had refused a discharge and a return to their home towns before the end of the war. To Gaius Sulpicius, to whom Sicily had fallen, were assigned the two legions which Publius Cornelius had held, and reinforcements from Gnaeus Fulvius' army, which in the previous year had been dishonourably cut to pieces and put to flight in Apulia. For this class of soldier the senate had established the same term of service as for the men who were at Cannae.<sup>1</sup> An additional mark of disgrace for both alike was that they were not to winter in towns, nor to construct their winter quarters within ten miles of any city. To Lucius Cornelius in Sardinia were given the two legions which Quintus Mucius had commanded. Reinforcements, if necessary, the consuls were bidden to enrol. To Titus Otacilius and Marcus Valerius were assigned the coasts of Sicily and Greece, together with the legions and fleets which they commanded. Greece had fifty ships and one legion, Sicily a hundred ships and two legions. Twenty-three Roman legions<sup>2</sup> carried on the war that year on land and sea.

II. At the beginning of that year, when the letter of Lucius Marcus<sup>3</sup> was brought before the senate,

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- titulus honoris, quod imperio non populi iussu, non ex auctoritate patrum dato "propraetor senatui" scripserat, magnam partem hominum offendebat:
- 2 rem mali exempli esse imperatores legi ab exercitibus et sollemne auspicandorum<sup>1</sup> comitiorum in castra et provincias, procul ab legibus magistratibusque,
- 3 ad militarem temeritatem transferri. Et cum quidam referendum ad senatum censerent, melius visum differri eam consultationem donec proficerentur equites qui ab Marcio litteras attulerant.
- 4 Rescribi de frumento et vestimentis exercitus placuit eam utramque rem curae fore senatui; adscribi autem "propraetori L. Marcio" non placuit, ne id ipsum quod consultationi reliquerant pro praeiudicio
- 5 cato ferret. Dimissis equitibus, de nulla re prius consules rettulerunt, omniumque in unum sententiae congruebant, agendum cum tribunis plebis esse, primo quoque tempore ad plebem ferrent quem cum imperio mitti placeret in Hispaniam ad eum exercitum
- 6 cui Cn. Scipio imperator praefuisset. Ea res cum tribunis acta promulgataque est; sed aliud certamen occupaverat animos.
- 7 C. Sempronius Blaesus die dicta Cn. Fulvium ob exercitum in Apulia amissum in contionibus vexabat, multos imperatores temeritate atque inscitia exer-

<sup>1</sup> auspicandorum *Madvig*: -ciatorum *P(3)*: -catorum *AJK Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> A tribune of the plebs; cf. iii. 8. For the defeat in question cf. note on XXVII. i. 15.

his achievement was thought magnificent; but many B.C. 211 were offended by the official title used, since he had written "The Proprietor to the Senate," although his command had not been given him by order of the people, nor by authority of the senate. It was a bad precedent, they said, for generals to be chosen by armies, and for the sanctity of elections with the required auspices to be removed instead to camps and the provinces, far from laws and magistrates, at the bidding of reckless soldiers. And when some moved that the matter be laid before the senate, it seemed better to postpone deliberation on that point until the knights who had brought the letter from Marcus should depart. In regard to grain and clothing for the army, it was voted to reply that both matters would receive the attention of the senate, but not to address it "To the Proprietor Lucius Marcus," for fear he should get, as though already decided, the very thing which they had left to be considered. When the knights had been sent away, the consuls brought up that matter first of all, and there was complete unanimity that the tribunes of the plebs should be persuaded to bring before the plebs at the earliest possible moment the question as to whom they preferred to send with full authority to Spain and the army of which Gnaeus Scipio had been the commander-in-chief. The matter was arranged with the tribunes and due notice given; but a different dispute had claimed men's attention.

Gaius Sempronius Blaesus,<sup>1</sup> having named a day for the trial, was inveighing against Gnaeus Fulvius in harangues, because of the loss of his army in Apulia, insisting that many generals out of recklessness and lack of experience had led their



- citum in locum praecipitem perduxisse<sup>1</sup> dictitans,  
 8 neminem praeter Cn. Fulvium ante conrupsisse omnibus vitiis legiones suas quam proderet. Itaque vere dici posse prius eos perisse quam viderent hostem, nec ab Hannibale, sed ab imperatore suo victos esse.  
 9 Neminem, cum suffragium ineat, satis cernere cui imperium, cui exercitum permittat. Quid interfuisse inter Ti. Sempronium et Cn. Fulvium? Ti. Sempronium,<sup>2</sup> cum ei servorum exercitus datus esset, brevi effecisse disciplina atque imperio ut nemo eorum generis ac sanguinis sui memor in acie esset,<sup>3</sup> praesidio sociis, hostibus terrori essent; Cumas, Beneventum aliasque urbes eos velut e faucibus  
 11 Hannibalis ereptas populo Romano restituisse: Cn. Fulvium Quiritium Romanorum exercitum, honeste genitos, liberaliter educatos servilibus vitiis imbuisse. Ergo effecisse ut feroces et inquieti inter socios, ignavi et inbelles inter hostes essent, nec impetum modo Poenorum, sed ne clamorem quidem sustinere  
 12 possent. Nec hercule mirum esse cessisse<sup>4</sup> milites in acie, cum primus omnium imperator fugeret:  
 13 magis mirari se aliquos stantis cecidisse, et non omnes comites Cn. Fulvi fuisse pavoris ac fugae. C. Flaminium, L. Paulum, L. Postumium, Cn. ac P. Scipiones cadere in acie maluisse quam deserere  
 14 circumventos exercitus: Cn. Fulvium prope unum

<sup>1</sup> perduxisse *M?* *Aldus, Luchs*: prae- *P(3)*: pro- *B?*: duxisse *conj. Luchs (earlier)*.

<sup>2</sup> et Cn. Fulvium? Ti. Sempronium *Madvig*: om. *P(1)JK*.

<sup>3</sup> esset *P(1)JK*: esset sed *Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> cessisse *Alschefski*: om. *P(1)J*.

<sup>1</sup> For the battle at Beneventum see XXIV. xv. f.

<sup>2</sup> Here called Quirites (rare of soldiers) to heighten the contrast with slaves.

armies into a dangerous place; but that no one s.c. 211 except Gnaeus Fulvius had ruined his legions with every vice before he betrayed them. And so it could be truly said that they were lost before they saw the enemy, and that they were defeated, not by Hannibal, but by their own commander. No one, in casting his vote, he said, clearly saw to what sort of man he was entrusting a command and an army. What had been the difference between Tiberius Sempronius and Gnaeus Fulvius? Tiberius Sempronius, though he had been given an army of slaves, by his training and authority had soon brought it about that no one of them in battle remembered his class and origin, and that they were a defence to allies, a terror to enemies. They had rescued Cumae, Beneventum<sup>1</sup> and other cities out of the jaws of Hannibal, as it were, and restored them to the Roman people. But Gnaeus Fulvius, having an army of Roman citizens,<sup>2</sup> men well born and brought up as free men, had steeped them in the vices of slaves. Consequently this was what he had accomplished: that they were overbearing and turbulent in their dealings with allies, cowardly and unwarlike towards the enemy, and unable to withstand even the battle-cry of the Carthaginians, to say nothing of their attack. And surely it was no wonder that the soldiers had given way in battle, when their commander was the first of all to flee. He wondered more, he said, that some had fallen where they stood, and that not all had shared the consternation and flight of Gnaeus Fulvius. Gaius Flaminius, Lucius Paulus, Lucius Postumius, Gnaeus and Publius Scipio had preferred to fall in battle-line rather than to desert their entrapped armies. But Gnaeus Fulvius, almost

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nuntium deleti exercitus Romam redisse. Facinus indignum esse Cannensem exercitum, quod ex acie fugerit, in Siciliam deportatum, ne prius inde dimitatur quam hostis ex Italia decesserit, et hoc idem  
 15 in Cn. Fulvi legionibus nuper decretum, Cn. Fulvio fugam ex proelio ipsius temeritate commisso impunitam esse, et eum in ganea lustrisque, ubi iuventam  
 16 egerit, senectutem acturum, milites qui nihil aliud peccaverint quam quod imperatoris similes fuerint, relegatos prope in exsilium ignominiosam pati militiam. Adeo imparem libertatem Romae diti ac pauperi, honorato atque inhonorato esse.

III. Reus ab se culpam in milites transferebat: eos ferociter pugnam poscentis, productos in aciem non eo quo voluerint, quia serum diei fuerit, sed postero die, et tempore et loco aequo instructos, seu  
 2 famam seu vim hostium non sustinuisse. Cum effuse omnes fugerent, se quoque turba ablatum, ut Varro in Cannensi pugna, ut multos alios imperatores.  
 3 Qui <sup>1</sup> autem solum se restantem prodesse rei publicae, nisi si mors sua remedio publicis cladibus futura  
 4 esset, potuisse? <sup>2</sup> Non se inopia commeatus in loca iniqua incaute deductum, non agmine inexplorato euntem insidiis circumventum: vi aperta, armis, acie

<sup>1</sup> Qui P(3): quid M<sup>3</sup>BDAJK Aldus.

<sup>2</sup> esset, potuisse Gronovius: esse potuisset P(1)JK.

the only man to report the destruction of his army, B.C. 211 had returned to Rome. It was a shameful thing that the army of Cannae, for having escaped from the battle-line, had been deported to Sicily, not to be relieved of service there until the enemy withdrew from Italy, and that the same action had been taken recently in the case of Gnaeus Fulvius' legions; that the flight of Gnaeus Fulvius from a battle begun by his own recklessness should have gone unpunished, and he should be expecting to spend his old age in cook-shops and brothels in which he passed his youth, whereas the soldiers, whose only fault was that they were like their commander, had been all but exiled and were enduring military service in disgrace. So different was freedom at Rome for the rich and the poor, for the man who had held and the man who had not held public office!

III. The defendant shifted the blame from himself to the soldiers. They had been fiercely clamouring for battle, he said, when they were led out into line, not on the day they wished, since it was too late, but on the following day, and although drawn up at a favourable time and place, they failed to withstand the reputed or the real strength of the enemy. When they were all fleeing in disorder, he too was carried away by the crowd, as Varro in the battle of Cannae, as many other generals. How, he said, could he have been of service to the state by resisting all alone, unless his death was to be a remedy for national disasters? It was not that for lack of supplies he had been imprudently led into an unfavourable position; it was not that while advancing in column without reconnoitring he had been surprised and surrounded; it was by an open attack, by arms, by a

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victum. Nec suorum animos nec hostium in potestate habuisse: suum cuique ingenium audaciam aut  
 5 pavorem facere. Bis est accusatus pecuniaque anquisitum; tertio testibus datis, cum, praeterquam quod omnibus probris onerabatur, iurati permulti dicerent fugae pavorisque initium a praetore ortum,  
 6 ab eo desertos milites, cum haud vanum timorem ducis crederent, terga dedisse, tanta ira accensa est  
 7 ut <sup>1</sup> capite anquirendum contio succlamaret. De eo quoque novum certamen ortum; nam cum bis pecunia anquisisset, tertio capitis se anquirere diceret, tribuni plebis appellati conlegae negarunt se in mora esse quo minus, quod ei more maiorum permissum esset, seu legibus seu moribus mallet, anquireret quoad vel capitis vel pecuniae iudicasset  
 9 privato. Tum Sempronius perduellionis se iudicare Cn. Fulvio dixit, diemque comitiis ab C. Calpurnio  
 10 praetore urbano petit. Inde alia spes ab reo temptata est, si adesse in iudicio Q. Fulvius frater posset, florens tum et fama rerum gestarum et propinqua spe  
 11 Capuae potiundae. Id cum per litteras miserabiliter pro fratris capite scriptas petisset Fulvius, negasentque patres e re publica esse abscedi a Capua,

<sup>1</sup> ut P(1) Aldus: ut id A<sup>4</sup>JKz.

<sup>1</sup> At the first and again at the second hearing the accuser (Blaesus) stated the charge and the penalty demanded in case of conviction.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, the right to demand a severer punishment, after having twice announced that it would be a fine.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. by Fulvius.

<sup>4</sup> For a similar procedure cf. XXV. iii. 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The *comitia centuriata*, for the fourth hearing and a final verdict by popular vote. Cicero enumerates the formalities required, including the *quarta accusatio*; *de Domo* 45.

battle-line that he had been defeated. Neither the B.C. 211  
 spirit of his own men nor that of the enemy had been under his control: every man's own temperament, he said, produces boldness or consternation. Twice he was accused and a fine required;<sup>1</sup> at the third hearing witnesses were furnished, and he was not only loaded with every kind of reproach, but also many swore that the beginning of flight and panic was made by the praetor; that the soldiers, deserted by him, in the belief that the general's fear was not unfounded, had retreated. Thereupon such anger was kindled that the assembly shouted that the magistrate must demand a capital penalty. On that point <sup>2</sup> also a fresh dispute began. For when the accuser, having twice demanded a fine, said at the third hearing that he demanded capital punishment, the tribunes were appealed to.<sup>3</sup> And they said that they would not stand in their colleague's way, to prevent him from doing what was permitted him by ancestral custom, that is, from making his demand either according to the laws or according to custom, as he preferred, until he should condemn the defendant either to capital punishment or to pay a fine.<sup>4</sup> Upon that Sempronius said he judged Gnaeus Fulvius guilty of treason and asked of Gaius Calpurnius, the city praetor, a day for the assembly.<sup>5</sup> Then the defendant had recourse to another hope, in case his brother Quintus Fulvius might be able to attend at the trial, as he was then influential both from the fame of his successes and from the hope, now almost fulfilled, of taking Capua. After Fulvius had written a pitiful letter in that sense on behalf of his brother's life, and the senators had declared that leaving Capua was not to the interest of the state,

A.U.C. 543 12 postquam dies comitiorum aderat, Cn. Fulvius exsulatum Tarquinius abiit. Id ei iustum exsilium esse scivit plebs.

IV. Inter haec vis omnis belli versa in Capuam erat; obsidebatur tamen acrius quam oppugnabatur, nec aut famem tolerare servitia ac plebs poterant aut mittere nuntios ad Hannibalem per custodias  
2 tam artas. Inventus est Numida qui acceptis litteris evasurum se professus praestaret promissum. Per media Romana castra nocte egressus spem accendit Campanis, dum aliquid virium superesset, ab omni  
3 parte eruptionem temptandi. Ceterum in multis certaminibus equestria proelia ferme prospera faciebant, pedite<sup>1</sup> superabantur. Sed nequaquam tam laetum vincere quam triste vinci ulla parte erat ab  
4 obsessio et prope expugnato hoste. Inita tandem ratio est ut quod viribus deerat arte aequaretur. Ex omnibus legionibus electi sunt iuvenes maxime vigore ac levitate corporum veloces; eis parmae breviores quam equestres et septena iacula quaternos longa pedes data, praefixa ferro quale hastis velitaribus  
5 inest. Eos singulos in equos suos accipientes equites adsuefecerunt et vehi post sese et desilire perniciter,  
6 ubi datum signum esset. Postquam<sup>2</sup> adsuetudine cotidiana satis intrepide fieri visum est, in campum qui medius inter castra murumque erat adversus

<sup>1</sup> pedite *Gronovius*: pedites *P(1)JK*.

<sup>2</sup> Postquam *P(1)JK*: postquam id *Koch*: id postquam *M. Müller*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the similar plebiscite XXV. iv. 9.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. to the Romans.

<sup>3</sup> Such had been mentioned in XXI. lv. 11, at the Trebia. But they were not combined with the cavalry.

when the day for the assembly was at hand Gnaeus B.C. 211 Fulvius went into exile at Tarquinii. The plebs voted that his exile was legal.<sup>1</sup>

IV. Meanwhile the whole effort of the war had been directed against Capua. But it was rather an intensive blockade than a series of assaults, and the slaves and commoners were unable either to endure hunger or to send messengers to Hannibal through guards so near to each other. A Numidian was discovered who took a letter, declared that he would make his way out, and kept his promise. Going out right through the Roman camp at night he inspired in the Capuans the hope that, while they still had some strength left, they might attempt a sally in all directions. But in the many engagements they were as a rule successful in cavalry battles, while in infantry they were worsted. To be victorious, however, was by no means so cheering<sup>2</sup> as it was depressing to be vanquished at any point by a beleaguered and almost captured enemy. At length a method was devised, so that what was lacking to their strength might be compensated by skilful tactics. Out of all the legions were picked young men who by reason of strength and lightness of build were the swiftest. These were furnished with round shields of smaller size than those used by cavalry, and seven javelins apiece four feet long and having iron heads such as are on the spears of the light-armed troops.<sup>3</sup> The horsemen would each of them take one of these men on to their own horses, and they trained them both to ride behind and to leap down nimbly when the signal was given. When thanks to daily practice they seemed to do this with sufficient daring, they advanced into the plain which was situated between the camp and

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7 instructos Campanorum equites processerunt, et,  
ubi ad coniectum teli ventum est, signo dato velites  
desiliunt. Pedestris inde acies ex equitatu repente in  
hostium equites incurrit, iaculaque cum impetu alia  
8 super alia emittunt. Quibus plurimis in equos viros-  
que passim coniectis permultos vulneraverunt;  
pavoris tamen plus ex re nova atque inopinata  
iniectum est, et in perculsum hostem equites invecti  
fugam stragemque eorum usque ad portas fecerunt.  
9 Inde equitatu quoque superior Romana res fuit;  
10 institutum<sup>1</sup> ut velites in legionibus essent. Aucto-  
rem peditum equiti inmiscendorum centurionem Q.  
Navium ferunt,<sup>2</sup> honorique id ei apud imperatorem  
fuisse.

V. Cum in hoc statu ad Capuam res essent, Hanni-  
balem diversum<sup>3</sup> Tarentinae arcis potiundae Capuae-  
2 que retinendae trahebant curae. Vicit tamen re-  
spectus Capuae, inquam omnium sociorum hostiumque  
conversos videbat animos, documento futurae, qua-  
lemcumque eventum defectio ab Romanis habuisset.  
3 Igitur magna parte impedimentorum relictis in  
Bruttiis et omni graviore armatu,<sup>4</sup> cum delectis  
peditum equitumque quam poterat aptissimus<sup>5</sup> ad  
maturandum iter in Campaniam contendit. Secuti  
tamen tam raptim euntem tres et triginta elephanti.  
4 In valle occulta post Tifata, montem imminem

<sup>1</sup> institutum *P(1)JK*: et institutum *Ussing*.<sup>2</sup> ferunt *P(3)M<sup>1</sup> Aldus*: tradunt *A<sup>1</sup>JKz*: fuerunt *RM*.<sup>3</sup> diversum *P(1)JK*: in diversum *C<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>x Aldus*.

the city wall in the face of the Capuan cavalry in *a.o. 211*  
battle-line. And when they had come within range,  
at a given signal the light-armed leaped to the  
ground. Thereupon an infantry line suddenly dashes  
out from the cavalry at the enemy's horsemen, and  
while attacking they hurl one javelin after another.  
By throwing a great number of these against horses  
and men in all directions, they wounded very many.  
But more consternation was created by the strange  
and the unexpected, and the cavalry charging into  
the frightened enemy caused them to flee with  
slaughter all the way to the gates. Thereafter the  
Roman side was superior in cavalry also; it was  
made the practice to have light-armed in the legions.  
The originator of combining infantry with cavalry  
they say was Quintus Navius, a centurion, and that  
for so doing honour was paid him by the general.

V. While matters stood thus at Capua, Hannibal  
was drawn in opposite directions by the desire to  
take the citadel of Tarentum and to hold Capua.  
However, regard for Capua prevailed, a city on which  
he saw that the attention of all his allies and enemies  
was concentrated, and one destined to be a striking  
example, whatever might be the result of its revolt  
from the Romans. Accordingly, leaving in the land  
of the Bruttii a large part of his baggage and all the  
heavy-armed, with picked infantry and cavalry he  
hastened into Campania in the best possible condition  
for a rapid march. In spite of his swift movement  
thirty-three elephants managed to follow him. He  
encamped in a closed valley behind Tifata, a moun-

<sup>4</sup> armatu *P(1) Gronovius*: armatura *C<sup>3</sup>M<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>JKz*.<sup>5</sup> aptissimus *P(3)B<sup>1</sup>J*: -is *M<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>Kx Aldus*.

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- Capuae, consedit. Adveniens cum castellum Galatiam<sup>1</sup> praesidio vi pulso cepisset, in circumsedentis  
 5 Capuam se vertit, praemissisque nuntiis Capuam, quo tempore castra Romana adgressurus esset, ut eodem et illi ad eruptionem parati portis omnibus  
 6 sese effunderent, ingentem praebuit terrorem. Nam alia parte ipse adortus est, alia Campani omnes, equites peditesque, et cum iis Punicum praesidium, cui Bostar et Hanno praeerant, erupit.  
 7 Romani ut in re trepida, ne ad unam concurrendo partem aliquid indefensi relinquerent, ita inter sese  
 8 copias partiti sunt: Ap. Claudius Campanis, Fulvius Hannibali est oppositus; C. Nero propraetor cum equitibus sex legionum via quae Suessulam fert, C. Fulvius Flaccus legatus cum sociali equitatu  
 9 constitit e regione Volturni amnis. Proelium non solito modo clamore ac tumultu est coeptum, sed ad alium virorum, equorum armorumque sonum disposita in muris Campanorum inbellis multitudo tantum cum aeris crepitu, qualis in defectu lunae silenti nocte cieri solet, edidit clamorem ut averteret<sup>2</sup>  
 10 etiam pugnantium animos. Campanos facile a vallo Appius arcebat: maior vis ab altera parte Fulvium  
 11 Hannibal et Poeni urgebant. Legio ibi sexta loco cessit, qua pulsa cohors Hispanorum cum tribus elephantis usque ad vallum pervasit, ruperatque

<sup>1</sup> Galatiam *P Madvig, Web., Hertz. Luchs: Calatiam Conway.*

<sup>2</sup> averteret *P(1)JK: adverteret x Muretus.*

<sup>1</sup> Unknown; not to be confused with Calatia, a city which had revolted in 216 B.C. (XXII. lxi. 11), and was not recovered by the Romans until later in this year, 211 B.C. (xvi. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tacitus *Annals* I. xxviii: Plutarch *Aemilius* xvii. 4: Pliny *N.H.* II. 54.

tain commanding Capua. As he approached, he first captured the stronghold of Galatia,<sup>1</sup> overpowering its garrison, and then directed his march against the besiegers of Capua. And sending word in advance to Capua, stating at what time he proposed to attack the Roman camp, so that they also, making ready for a sally, might at the same time burst out of all the gates, he inspired great alarm. For on one side he himself attacked, on the other all the Capuans, cavalry and infantry, sallied out, and with them the Carthaginian garrison, commanded by Bostar and Hanno.

The Romans in their alarm, so as not to leave one point undefended by rushing in the same direction, divided their forces among them as follows: Appius Claudius was placed facing the Capuans, Fulvius facing Hannibal: Gaius Nero, the propraetor, with the cavalry of six legions took his place along the road leading to Suessula, Gaius Fulvius Flaccus, the lieutenant, with the cavalry of the allies in the direction of the river Volturnus. The battle began not only with the usual shouting and uproar, but, in addition to the noise of men and horses and arms, the non-combatant populace of Capua disposed along the walls produced so much shouting, together with the clashing of bronze,<sup>2</sup> such as is usually kept up in the still night of a lunar eclipse, as to divert the attention even of the combatants. Appius was easily keeping the Capuans away from the earthwork of the camp; on the other side a larger force, Hannibal and the Carthaginians, were pressing Fulvius. There the sixth legion gave way, and after it had been forced back, a cohort of Spaniards with three elephants managed even to reach the earth-

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- mediam aciem Romanorum et in ancipiti spe ac periculo erat utrum in castra perrumperet an intercluderetur a suis. Quem pavorem legionis periculumque castrorum Fulvius ubi vidit, Q. Navium primoresque alios centurionum hortatur ut cohortem hostium sub vallo pugnantes invadant: in summo discrimine rem verti; aut viam dandam iis esse—et minore conatu quam condensam aciem rupissent<sup>1</sup> in castra inrupturos—aut conficiendos sub vallo esse. Nec magni certaminis rem fore; paucos esse et ab suis interclusos, et quae, dum paveat Romanus, interrupta acies videatur, eam, si se utrimque<sup>2</sup> in hostem vertat, ancipiti pugna medios circumventuram. Navius ubi haec imperatoris dicta accepit, secundi hastati signum adeptum signifero in hostis infert, iacturum in medios eos minitans, ni se propere sequantur milites et partem capessant pugnae. Ingens corpus erat et arma honestabant; et sublatum alte signum converterat ad spectaculum cives hostesque. Ceterum postquam iam ad signa pervenerat Hispanorum, tum undique in eum tragulae coniectae et prope tota in unum acies versa; sed neque multitudo hostium neque telorum vis arcere impetum eius viri potuerunt.<sup>3</sup>

VI. Et M. Atilius legatus primi principis ex eadem

<sup>1</sup> rupissent *Crévier*: inrupissent *P(3)A\*JK Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> utrimque *PCM<sup>12</sup>*: utrumque *RMBDAJK*.

<sup>3</sup> potuerunt *P(3) Aldus*: potuit *AJKz*.

work, and had broken through the Roman centre, *a.c.* 211 and wavered between the hope of breaking through into the camp and the danger of being cut off from their own troops. Fulvius, on seeing the alarm of the legion and the danger to the camp, bade Quintus Navius and other first centurions to attack the cohort of the enemy fighting beneath the earthwork. He said that it was a very critical moment; that either they must be allowed to pass—and it would be less of an effort for them to burst into the camp than it had been to break through the solid line—or else they must be disposed of beneath the earthwork. Also that it would not involve much fighting; they were few and cut off from their own men; and if the battle-line, which in the panic of the Romans seemed to have been broken through, should face against the enemy from both sides, it would enclose them between two fronts. Navius, on hearing these words of the commander, snatched a standard of the second manipule of the *hastati* from the standard-bearer and carried it towards the enemy, threatening that he would throw it into their midst if the soldiers did not quickly follow him and take a hand in the battle. A huge frame he had, and his arms added distinction; and the standard held aloft had attracted citizens and enemies to the sight. But when he had pushed through to the standards of the Spaniards, spears were then hurled at him from every side, and almost the entire line turned against him alone. But neither the numbers of the enemy nor the mass of weapons could beat off the attack of such a man.

VI. And Marcus Atilius, the lieutenant, started to carry the standard of the first manipule of the *prin-*

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legione signum inferre in cohortem Hispanorum coepit; et qui castris praeerant, L. Porcius Licinus et T. Popilius legati, pro vallo acriter propugnant elephantosque transgredientes in ipso vallo conficiunt.  
 2 Quorum corporibus cum oppleta fossa esset, velut aggere aut ponte iniecto transitum hostibus dedit. Ibi per<sup>1</sup> stragem iacentium elephantorum atrox  
 3 edita caedes. Altera in parte castrorum iam impulsierant Campani Punicumque praesidium et sub ipsa porta Capuae quae Volturnum fert pugnabatur;  
 4 neque tam armati inrumpentibus Romanis resistebant, quam porta ballistis scorpionibusque instructa missilibus procul hostis arcebat. Et suppressit impetum Romanorum vulnus imperatoris Ap. Claudii, cui suos ante prima signa adhortanti sub laevo umero summum pectus gaeso ictum est. Magna vis tamen hostium ante portam est caesa, ceteri trepidi in  
 6 urbem compulsi. Et Hannibal, postquam cohortis Hispanorum stragem vidit summaque vi castra hostium defendi, omissa oppugnatione recipere signa et convertere agmen peditum obiecto ab tergo  
 7 equitatu, ne hostis instaret, coepit. Legionum ardor ingens ad hostem insequendum fuit: Flaccus receptui cani iussit, satis ad utrumque profectum

<sup>1</sup> per *P(1)JK*: super *Ussing*.

<sup>1</sup> In the second line, advancing to aid the *hastati*.

<sup>2</sup> A stronghold recently fortified at the mouth of the river Volturnus, later a city; cf. XXV. xx. 2.

*cipes*<sup>1</sup> of the same legion towards the cohort of B.O. 211 Spaniards, and at the same time Lucius Porcius Licinus and Titus Popilius, the lieutenants in command of the camp, fought with spirit on the earthwork and slew the elephants directly on the wall, as they were trying to cross. When the trench was filled with their bodies, it furnished the enemy with a passage, just as if an embankment or a bridge had been thrown over it. There, all over the heap of fallen elephants, a terrible slaughter ensued. On the other side of the camp the Capuans and the Carthaginian garrison had already been repulsed, and fighting was going on just outside the gate of Capua leading toward Volturnum.<sup>2</sup> And it was not so much the armed men that were resisting the Romans trying to burst in, as that the gate, armed with larger and smaller artillery, kept the enemy back by missiles hurled from a distance. The attack of the Romans was further checked by the wounding of Appius Claudius, the general encouraging his men at the front, when the upper part of his chest was struck by a javelin below the left shoulder. Nevertheless a great number of the enemy were slain before the gate, and the rest driven in disorder into the city. Hannibal likewise, seeing the slaughter of the Spanish cohort, and that the enemy's camp was being defended with the utmost vigour, gave up the attack upon it and began to recall his standards and to make his advancing infantry retreat, while interposing his cavalry in the rear, to prevent the enemy from pursuing. The legions showed great eagerness to pursue the enemy; but Flaccus ordered the recall to be sounded, thinking that enough had been accom-



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- ratus, ut et Campani quam haud multum in Hannibale  
 8 praesidii esset, et ipse Hannibal sentiret. Caesa eo  
 die quidam<sup>1</sup>, qui huius pugnae auctores sunt, octo  
 milia hominum de Hannibalis exercitu, tria ex  
 Campanis tradunt, signaque Carthaginiensibus quin-  
 decim adempta, duodeviginti Campanis.  
 9 Apud alios nequaquam tantam molem pugnae  
 inveni<sup>2</sup> plusque pavoris quam certaminis fuisse,  
 cum inopinato in castra Romana Numidae Hispanique  
 10 cum elephantis inrupissent, elephantum per media  
 castra vadentes stragem tabernaculorum ingenti  
 sonitu ac fugam abrumpentium vincula iumentorum  
 11 facerent; fraudem quoque super tumultum adiectam,  
 inmissis ab Hannibale qui habitu Italico gnari  
 Latinae linguae iuberent consulum verbis, quoniam  
 amissa castra essent, pro se quemque militum in  
 12 proximos montes fugere; sed eam celeriter cognitam  
 fraudem oppressamque magna caede hostium;  
 13 elephantos igni e castris exactos. Hoc ultimum,  
 utcumque initum finitumque est, ante deditionem  
 Capuae proelium fuit.

- Medix tuticus, qui summus magistratus apud  
 Campanos est, eo anno Seppius Loesius erat, loco  
 14 obscuro tenuique fortuna ortus. Matrem eius  
 quondam pro pupillo eo procurantem familiare  
 ostentum, cum respondisset haruspex summum quod  
 esset imperium Capuae perventurum ad eum  
 puerum, nihil ad eam spem adgnoscentem dixisse

<sup>1</sup> quidam *Luchs*: om. *P*(1)*JK Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> inveni *P*: inveniri *P*<sup>2</sup>(1): invenio *A*<sup>2</sup>*JKz*.

<sup>1</sup> No doubt chiefly Valerius Antias; Vol. VI., p. 492, n. 2;  
 below, xlix. 3, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning proconsuls.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXIII. xxxv. 13; XXIV. xix. 2.

plished for both purposes—that the Campanians *a.c.* 211  
 should appreciate how little defence they had in  
 Hannibal, and that Hannibal himself should be aware  
 of it. Some of the authorities<sup>1</sup> on this battle relate  
 that eight thousand men were slain in Hannibal's  
 army, three thousand in the Campanian, and that  
 fifteen standards were taken from the Carthaginians  
 and eighteen from the Campanians.

In other writers I have found that the battle was  
 by no means on such a scale, but that there was more  
 panic than fighting, when Numidians and Spaniards  
 with elephants had burst into the Roman camp un-  
 expectedly, and while the elephants, on their way  
 straight through the camp, were causing wreckage of  
 tents in the midst of a terrible din, and making the  
 beasts of burden break their halters and flee; that,  
 in addition to the uproar, there was also a ruse; for  
 Hannibal sent in men in Italian dress and acquainted  
 with the Latin language, to bid the soldiers, in the  
 name of the consuls,<sup>2</sup> each for himself to flee to the  
 neighbouring mountains, since the camp had been  
 taken; but that the ruse was quickly recognized  
 and frustrated with great loss to the enemy; that the  
 elephants were driven out of the camp by the use of  
 fire. In whatever way it began and ended, this was  
 the last battle before the surrender of Capua.

As *medix tuticus*,<sup>3</sup> which is the highest office among  
 the Campanians, Seppius Loesius was serving that  
 year, though born in a humble station and having  
 slender means. They say that his mother on his  
 behalf as a minor was once expiating a household  
 portent, and when the soothsayer had given his  
 answer that the very highest authority at Capua  
 would come to that boy, she, finding nothing to

- A.U.C. 548 15 ferunt: "Ne tu perditas res Campanorum narras, ubi summus honos ad filium meum perveniet." 16 Ea ludificatio veri et ipsa in verum vertit; nam cum fame ferroque urgerentur nec spes ulla superesset sisti posse,<sup>1</sup> iis qui nati<sup>2</sup> in spem honorum erant 17 honores detrectantibus, Loesius querendo desertam ac proditam a primoribus Capuam, summum magistratum ultimus omnium Campanorum cepit.

VII. Ceterum Hannibal, ut nec hostis elici amplius ad pugnam vidit neque per castra eorum perrumpi ad 2 Capuam posse, ne suos quoque commeatus intercluderent novi consules, abscedere inrito incepto et 3 movere a Capua statuit castra. Multa secum quonam<sup>3</sup> inde ire pergeret volventi subiit animum impetus caput ipsum belli Romam petendi, cuius rei semper cupitae praetermissam occasionem post Cannensem pugnam et alii volgo<sup>4</sup> fremebant et ipse 4 non dissimulabat: necopinato pavore ac tumultu non esse desperandum aliquam partem urbis occu- 5 pari posse; et si Roma in discrimine esset, Capuam extemplo omissuros aut ambo imperatores Romanos aut alterum ex iis, et si divisissent copias, utrumque infirmiore factum aut sibi aut Campanis bene 6 gerendae rei fortunam duros esse. Una ea cura angebat ne, ubi abscessisset, extemplo dederentur Campani. Numidam promptum ad omnia audenda agendaque<sup>5</sup> donis perlicit ut litteris acceptis specie

<sup>1</sup> posse *Alschefski*: om. *P(1)JK*.

<sup>2</sup> iis qui nati *z Alschefski*: om. *P(1)JK*.

<sup>3</sup> quonam *AJK Aldus*: quo iam *P(1)A<sup>2</sup>z*.

<sup>4</sup> volgo *P*: om. *Madvig, Hertz, Conway*, without giving reason or citing *MSS*.

<sup>5</sup> agendaque *Wesenberg*: que *P(3)*: om. *M<sup>1</sup>DAJK Conway*.

justify that hope, said "Surely you mean the ruin B.C. 211 of the Campanians, when the highest office shall come to my son." That mockery of a true prediction also came true. For when they were hard pressed by starvation and the sword, and there remained no hope that they could hold out, while those who were born to the expectation of public offices were refusing them, Loesius, who complained that Capua had been abandoned and betrayed by its leading men, was the last of all the Campanians to receive their highest magistracy.

VII. But Hannibal, seeing that it was impossible either to tempt the enemy into battle again, or to break a way through their camp to Capua, for fear the new consuls should cut off his supplies also, resolved to retire without accomplishing his undertaking and to move his camp away from Capua. While carefully considering whither he should remove, the impulse came to him to proceed to Rome, the very centre of the war. It was something which he had always desired to do, but after the battle of Cannae he had let the opportunity pass, as others commonly complained, and as he himself frequently admitted. In unexpected alarm and confusion it need not be beyond his hopes that some part of the city could be seized. And if Rome should be in danger, he thought that either both of the Roman commanders or one of them would at once abandon Capua; and that if they should divide their forces, each being weakened would give either himself or the Capuans the chance of success. Only one concern tormented him, the fear that as soon as he had withdrawn, the Capuans might at once be surrendered. A Numidian who was ready to dare and do anything was induced

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transfugae castra Romana ingressus, altera parte  
 7 clam Capuam pervadat. Litterae autem erant  
 adhortatione plenae: profectionem suam, quae  
 salutaris illis foret, abstracturam ad defendendam  
 Romam ab oppugnanda Capua duces atque exercitus  
 8 Romanos. Ne desponderent animos; tolerando  
 9 paucos dies totam soluturos obsidionem. Inde navis  
 in flumine Volturno comprehensas subigi ad id quod  
 iam ante praesidii causa fecerat castellum iussit.  
 10 Quarum ubi tantam copiam esse ut una nocte traici  
 posset exercitus allatum est, cibariis decem dierum  
 praeparatis deductas nocte ad fluvium legiones ante  
 lucem traiecit.

VIII. Id priusquam fieret, ita futurum conpertum  
 ex transfugis Fulvius Flaccus senatui Romam cum  
 scripsisset, varie animi hominum<sup>1</sup> pro cuiusque  
 2 ingenio adfecti sunt. Ut in re tam trepida senatu  
 extemplo vocato, P. Cornelius cui Asinae cognomen  
 erat omnes duces exercitusque ex tota Italia, neque  
 Capuae neque ullius alterius rei memor, ad urbis  
 3 praesidium revocabat. Fabius Maximus abscedi a  
 Capua terrerique et circumagi ad nutus commina-  
 4 tionesque Hannibalis flagitiosum ducebat:<sup>2</sup> qui ad  
 Cannas victor ire tamen ad urbem ausus non esset,  
 eum a Capua repulsum spem potiundae urbis Romae

<sup>1</sup> animi hominum *P(3)*: hominum animi *AJK Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> ducebat *P(1)*: dicebat *JK*.

<sup>1</sup> To protect his passage; not the same *castellum* as in vi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> He had been consul before this war, in 221 B.C.; cf. XXII. xxxiv. 1.

by Hannibal's gifts to take a letter, enter the Roman camp under the guise of a deserter, and then from the other side of the camp make his way in secret to Capua. And the letter was filled with encouragements. His departure, Hannibal said, which would be of advantage to them, would draw off the Roman generals and armies from the siege of Capua to the defence of Rome. They should not be downcast; by holding out for a few days they would cause the entire blockade to be raised. He then ordered that boats on the Volturnus should be seized and rowed up to the fort which he had previously built for a defence.<sup>1</sup> And when word came that the number of these was such that his army could be ferried across in a single night, he had food prepared for ten days, led his legions down to the river by night, and transported them across before daylight.

VIII. Before this happened Fulvius Flaccus had learned from deserters that it was to be done, and had so written to the senate at Rome; whereupon men's feelings were differently stirred according to their several natures. As was natural in so alarming a situation, the senate was at once summoned, and Publius Cornelius, surnamed Asina,<sup>2</sup> with no thought of Capua or of anything else, was for recalling all the generals and armies from the whole of Italy for the defence of the city. But Fabius Maximus thought it a shameful thing to withdraw from Capua, to be frightened and led about at the beck of Hannibal and in response to his threats. To think, he said, that the man who, though victor at Cannae, had not ventured to go to the city, on being beaten back from Capua should have conceived the hope of capturing the city of

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5 cepisse! Non ad Romam obsidendam, sed ad Capuae liberandam obsidionem ire. Romam cum eo exercitu qui ad urbem esset Iovem foederum ruptorum ab Hannibale testem deosque alios defensuros esse.  
 6 Has diversas sententias media sententia P. Valerii Flacci vicit, qui utriusque rei memor imperatoribus qui ad Capuam essent scribendum censuit quid ad urbem praesidii esset; quantas autem Hannibal copias duceret aut quanto exercitu ad Capuam  
 7 obsidendam opus esset, ipsos scire. Si ita<sup>1</sup> Romam e ducibus alter et exercitus pars mitti posset, ut ab reliquo et duce et exercitu Capua recte obsideretur,  
 8 inter se compararent Claudius Fulviusque utri obsidenda Capua, utri ad prohibendam obsidione patriam  
 9 Romam veniundum esset. Hoc senatus consulto Capuam perlato Q. Fulvius proconsul, cui, collega ex vulnere aegro, redeundum<sup>2</sup> Romam erat, e tribus exercitibus milite electo, ad quindecim milia  
 10 peditum, mille equites Voltturnum traducit. Inde cum Hannibalem Latina via iturum satis comperisset, ipse per Appiae municipia quaeque propter eam viam  
 11 sunt, Setiam, Coram, Lavinium praemisit, ut com meatus paratos et in urbibus haberent et ex agris devii in viam proferrent, praesidiaque in urbes contraherent, ut sua cuique res publica in manu esset.

IX. Hannibal quo die Voltturnum est transgressus,

<sup>1</sup> Si ita *Alschefski*: sieta PCR: si et C<sup>2</sup>R<sup>1</sup>MBDAJK *Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> aegro, redeundum *Walters*: aegro eundum C<sup>3</sup>: aegrediundum PR; egrediundum CR<sup>2</sup>MBDAJKz (-endum JK).

<sup>1</sup> Consul 227 B.C.; ambassador to Hannibal at Saguntum, and to Carthage 218 B.C.; XXI. vi. 8.

Rome! It was not to besiege Rome that he was on B.C. 211 the march, but to raise the siege of Capua. As for Rome, Jupiter, witness of the treaties broken by Hannibal, and the other gods would defend her with the aid of the army stationed at the city. These conflicting motions were defeated by the compromise of Publius Valerius Flaccus,<sup>1</sup> who, mindful of both situations, proposed that they write to the generals at Capua, informing them what forces there were to defend the city; on the other hand, what forces Hannibal was taking with him or how large an army was needed for the siege of Capua they themselves knew. If one of the two generals and a part of the army could be sent to Rome, provided Capua should be duly besieged by the general and army remaining, then let Claudius and Fulvius arrange between them which of the two must besiege Capua, and which must come to Rome to prevent a siege of their native city. When this decree of the senate was brought to Capua, Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, who, since his colleague was disabled by a wound, was obliged to return to Rome, after picking soldiers from three armies, led about fifteen thousand infantry and a thousand horsemen across the Voltturnus. Thence, on learning definitely that Hannibal would march along the Latin Way, he himself sent word in advance to the towns along the Appian Way and such as are near that road, Setia, Cora, Lavinium, that they should have supplies on hand in the cities and also bring them down from farms at a distance to the road, and draw in garrisons for the cities, so that each might have the defence of its public interests in hand.

IX. Hannibal on the day that he crossed the Vol-

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2 haud procul a flumine castra posuit; postero die  
 praeter Cales in agrum Sidicinum pervenit. Ibi  
 diem unum populando moratus per Suessanum  
 Allifanumque et Casinatem agrum via Latina ducit.  
 Sub Casino<sup>1</sup> biduo stativa habita et passim popula-  
 3 tiones factae. Inde praeter Interamnam Aquinum-  
 que in Fregellanum agrum ad Lirim fluvium ventum,  
 ubi intercisum pontem a Fregellanis morandi itineris  
 4 causa invenit. Et Fulvium Voltumnus tenuerat amnis,  
 navibus ab Hannibale incensis, rates ad traiciendum  
 exercitum in magna inopia materiae aegre compa-  
 5 rantem. Traiecto ratibus exercitu, relicum Fulvio  
 expeditum iter, non per urbes modo sed circa viam  
 expositis benigne commeatibus, erat; alacresque  
 milites alius alium ut adderet gradum, memor ad  
 6 defendendam iri<sup>2</sup> patriam, hortabantur. Romam  
 Fregellanus nuntius, diem noctemque itinere conti-  
 nuato, ingentem attulit terrorem. Tumultuosius  
 quam allatum erat volgatum periculum discursu<sup>3</sup>  
 hominum adfingentium vana auditis totam urbem  
 7 concitat. Ploratus mulierum non ex privatis solum  
 domibus exaudiebatur, sed undique matronae in  
 publicum effusae circa deum delubra discurrunt,  
 crinibus passis aras verrentes, nixae genibus, supinas  
 8 manus ad caelum ac deos tendentes orantesque ut  
 urbem Romanam e manibus hostium eriperent

<sup>1</sup> Casino *Ussing*: Casinum P(1)JK.

<sup>2</sup> iri PCR: ire R<sup>2</sup>MDAJK *Aldus*: irae B.

<sup>3</sup> volgatum periculum dis- *Conway*: propagatum dis-  
*Madrig*: om. P(1)JK, a lost line, these having simply cursu or  
 other cases of the same word.

<sup>1</sup> Near Fregellae the Via Latina crossed the Liris, after  
 steadily approaching it through Casinum and Aquinum.

turnus pitched camp not far from the river; on the A.C. 211  
 next day he made his way past Cales into the region  
 of the Sidicini. There he lingered one day devas-  
 tating the country, and then led along the Latin  
 Way through the territory of Suessa, Allifae and  
 Casinum. Before Casinum he remained encamped  
 two days, and ravaged the country in all directions.  
 Then passing Interamna and Aquinum he came  
 into the region of Fregellae as far as the river Liris,<sup>1</sup>  
 where he found the bridge broken down by the men  
 of Fregellae, to delay his march. Fulvius too had  
 been detained by the river Voltumnus, as the boats  
 had been burned by Hannibal, and he had difficulty  
 in getting together rafts for the transporting of his  
 army, owing to the great scarcity of timber. After  
 the army had been carried across on rafts, the rest of  
 Fulvius' march was unhampered, as supplies had  
 been generously set out for them not only in the  
 cities, but also by the roadside. And the eager  
 soldiers kept encouraging one another to quicken  
 their pace, remembering that they were marching to  
 defend their native city. To Rome a messenger from  
 Fregellae, riding on for a day and a night, brought  
 great alarm. Still greater confusion than at its first  
 reception was occasioned by news of the danger  
 spread by men who ran about, adding unfounded  
 reports to what they had heard, and it stirred the  
 entire city. The wailings of women were heard not  
 only from private houses, but from every direction  
 matrons pouring into the streets ran about among  
 the shrines of the gods, sweeping the altars with their  
 dishevelled hair, kneeling, holding up their palms to  
 heaven and the gods, and praying them to rescue the  
 city of Rome from the hands of the enemy and to

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- matresque Romanas et liberos parvos inviolatos servarent. Senatus magistratibus in foro praesto est, si quid consulere<sup>1</sup> velint. Alii accipiunt imperia disceduntque ad suas quisque officiorum partes, alii offerunt se, si quo usus operae sit. Praesidia in arce, in Capitolio, in muris, circa urbem, in monte etiam Albano atque arce Aefulana ponuntur. Inter hunc tumultum Q. Fulvius proconsulem profectum cum exercitu Capua adfertur; cui ne minueretur imperium, si in urbem venisset, decernit senatus ut Q. Fulvio par cum consulibus imperium esset. Hannibal, infestius perpopulato agro Fregellano propter intercisos pontis, per Frusinatem Ferentinatempque et Anagninum agrum in Labicanum venit. Inde Algidus Tusculum petiit, nec receptus moenibus infra Tusculum dextrorsus Gabios descendit. Inde in Pupiniam exercitu demisso octo milia passuum ab Roma posuit castra. Quo propius hostis accedebat, eo maior caedes fiebat fugientium praecedentibus Numidis, pluresque omnium generum atque aetatum capiebantur.

X. In hoc tumultu Fulvius Flaccus porta Capena cum exercitu Romam ingressus, media urbe per Carinas Esquilias contendit; inde egressus inter Esquilinam Collinamque portam posuit castra. 2 Aediles plebis commeatum eo conportarunt; con-

<sup>1</sup> consulere *C<sup>4</sup>A<sup>1</sup>JK*: consule *PCR*: consules *R<sup>2</sup>MDBA*.

<sup>2</sup> Aefula, not far from Tibur, disappeared early, but gave its name to the Mons Aeflanus, which in Domitian's time (A.D. 88) was pierced by a long tunnel for the Aqua Claudia.

<sup>3</sup> According to Livy it had been a colony since 418 B.C.; IV. xlvii. 6; xlix 6.

<sup>4</sup> Between Rome and Tusculum. From it came the name of the tribus Pupinia; Festus p. 264 L.

keep Roman mothers and little children unharmed. B.C. 211 The senate awaited the magistrates in the Forum, in case they wished its advice about anything. Some received commands and departed each to the duty assigned him; others volunteered, in case of any need of their services. Garrisons were posted on the Citadel, on the Capitol, on the walls, around the city, even on the Alban Mount and on the citadel of Aefula.<sup>1</sup> In the midst of this turmoil word came that Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, had set out from Capua with an army. And that his military power might not be annulled if he came into the city, the senate decreed that Quintus Fulvius should have equal authority with the consuls. Hannibal, after laying waste the territory of Fregellae more ruthlessly on account of the breaking down of the bridges, came through the districts of Frusino and Ferentinum and Anagnina into that of Labici.<sup>2</sup> Then over Mount Algidus he went to Tusculum, and not being admitted to the city, he descended toward the right below Tusculum to Gabii. Thence he led his army down into the Pupinian district<sup>3</sup> and pitched camp eight miles distant from Rome. The nearer the enemy approached the greater was the slaughter of fugitives, as the Numidians were in the lead, and the greater was the number of the captured of every class and age.

X. In this confusion Fulvius Flaccus entered Rome with his army by the Porta Capena,<sup>4</sup> and hastened through the centre of the city by way of the Carinae<sup>5</sup> to the Esquiline. Then going out he pitched his camp between Porta Esquilina and Porta Collina. The plebeian aediles brought supplies thither; the

<sup>4</sup> Cf. XXV. xl. 3.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the western end of the Oppius, sloping down to the Subura.

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sules senatusque in castra venerunt; ibi de summa re publica consultatum. Placuit consules circa portas Collinam Esquilinamque ponere castra; C. Calpurnium praetorem urbanum Capitolio atque arci praeesse, et senatum frequentem in foro contineri, si quid in tam subitis rebus consulto opus esset.

- 3 Inter haec Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium tria milia passuum ab urbe castra admovit. Ibi stativis positus ipse cum duobus milibus equitum ad portam Collinam usque ad Herculis templum est progressus atque, unde proxime poterat, moenia situmque urbis  
4 obequitans contemplabatur. Id eum tam licenter atque otiose facere Flacco indignum visum est; itaque immisit equites summoverique atque in castra  
5 redigi hostium equitatum iussit. Cum commissum proelium esset, consules transfugas Numidarum, qui tum in Aventino ad mille et ducenti erant, media  
6 urbe transire Esquilias iusserunt, nullos aptiores inter convalles tectaque hortorum et sepulcra et cavas<sup>1</sup> undique vias ad pugnandum futuros rati. Quos cum ex arce Capitolioque clivo Publicio in equis decurrentis quidam vidissent, captum Aventinum  
7 conclamaverunt. Ea res tantum tumultum ac fugam praebuit ut, nisi castra Punica extra urbem fuissent, effusura se omnis pavida multitudo fuerit; tunc in domos atque in tecta refugiebant, vagosque

<sup>1</sup> cavas P(3)A<sup>9</sup> Aldus: vacuas B<sup>2</sup>AJKz.

<sup>1</sup> Thus there would be three camps eastward of the Agger of Servius Tullius so-called, where Hannibal's attack might be anticipated.

<sup>2</sup> Site unknown.

<sup>3</sup> This street led from the northwest end of the Circus Maximus up on to the Aventine, and southward across that hill; cf. XXVII. xxxvii. 15; XXX. xxvi. 5.

consuls and the senate came to the camp; there they A.U. 211 deliberated on the most important matters of state. It was decided that the consuls should pitch their camps near the gates, Collina and Esquilina;<sup>1</sup> that Gaius Calpurnius, the city praetor, should be in command of the Capitol and the Citadel, and that the senate in full numbers should be kept in the Forum, in case there might be need of deliberation in such an emergency. Meanwhile Hannibal moved his camp to the river Anio, three miles from the city. There he established a permanent camp and himself with two thousand horsemen advanced toward Porta Collina as far as the Temple of Hercules,<sup>2</sup> and riding up surveyed the walls and situation of the city from the nearest possible point. That he should do so with such freedom and so at his leisure seemed to Flaccus a shame. Accordingly he sent his horsemen against him and ordered that the cavalry of the enemy be driven away and back into their own camp. After the engagement had begun, the consuls ordered the Numidian deserters, of whom there were at that time on the Aventine about twelve hundred, to pass through the centre of the city across the Esquiline, thinking that none were better suited to do battle in the valleys and around buildings in gardens, among tombs and along roads hemmed in on every side. When some men on the Citadel and the Capitol saw them riding down the Clivus Publicius,<sup>3</sup> they shouted that the Aventine had been captured. That caused so much confusion and flight that, if there had not been a Carthaginian camp outside the city, the whole panic-stricken multitude would have poured out. As it was they fled to their homes and into buildings, and as their own people

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in viis suos pro <sup>1</sup> hostibus lapidibus telisque incesse-  
 8 bant. Nec comprimi tumultus aperirique error  
 poterat refertis itineribus agrestium turba peco-  
 rumque quae repentinus pavor in urbem compulerat.  
 9 Equestre proelium secundum fuit summotique hostes  
 sunt. Et quia multis locis comprimendi tumultus  
 erant qui temere oriebantur, placuit omnes qui  
 dictatores, consules censoresve fuissent cum imperio  
 10 esse, donec recessisset a muris hostis. Et diei quod  
 reliquum fuit et nocte insequenti multi temere  
 excitati tumultus sunt compressique.

XI. Postero die transgressus Anienem Hannibal  
 in aciem omnis copias eduxit; nec Flaccus consu-  
 2 lesque certamen detrectavere. Instructis utrimque  
 exercitibus in eius pugnae casum in qua urbs Roma  
 victori praemium esset, imber ingens grandine  
 mixtus ita utramque aciem turbavit ut vix armis  
 retentis in castra sese receperint, nullius rei minore  
 3 quam hostium metu. Et postero die eodem loco  
 acies instructas eadem tempestas diremit; ubi rece-  
 pissent se in castra, mira serenitas cum tranquillitate  
 4 oriebatur. In religionem ea res apud Poenos versa  
 est, auditaque vox Hannibalis fertur, potiundae sibi  
 urbis Romae modo mentem non dari, modo fortunam.  
 5 Minuere etiam spem eius duae <sup>2</sup> aliae, parva magna-  
 que, res, magna illa quod, cum ipse ad moenia urbis  
 Romae armatus sederet, milites sub vexillis in supple-

<sup>1</sup> pro *AJK Aldus*: *om. P(1)x.*<sup>2</sup> duae (*i.e.* ii) *Madvig*: et *P(1)JK.*

roamed the streets, they would hurl stones and A.C. 211  
 javelins at them, as though they were enemies. Nor  
 could the uproar be checked and their mistake  
 revealed, since the roads were clogged by the crowd  
 of rustics and the cattle that sudden alarm had  
 driven into the city. The cavalry battle was success-  
 ful and the enemy driven away. And because in  
 many places disturbances which arose without reason  
 had to be checked, it was decreed that all who had  
 been dictators, consuls or censors should have full  
 military power until the enemy should have retired  
 from the walls. And in fact during the rest of the  
 day and the following night many disturbances were  
 provoked without reason and were checked.

XI. On the next day Hannibal crossed the Anio  
 and led all his forces out into line, and Flaccus and  
 the consuls did not refuse battle. After the armies  
 had been drawn up on both sides for the issue of a  
 battle in which the city of Rome was to be the prize  
 for the victor, a great downpour mingled with hail so  
 confused both battle-lines that, holding on to their  
 arms with difficulty, they returned to camp, fearing  
 everything more than the enemy. And the following  
 day, when the lines were drawn up on the same spot,  
 the same bad weather parted them. On both days,  
 when they had retired to their camps, to their  
 astonishment there came a clear sky with a calm.  
 For the Carthaginians it became a solemn warning,  
 and it is reported that Hannibal was heard to say that  
 at one time the purpose to take Rome, at another the  
 chance, was denied him. Two other things, small and  
 great, further diminished his hope. The important  
 thing was that he heard that, although he was sitting  
 armed before the walls of the city of Rome, detach-



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- mentum Hispaniae profectos audiit, parva autem  
 6 quod per<sup>1</sup> eos dies eum forte agrum in quo ipse  
 castra haberet venisse nihil ob id deminuto pretio  
 7 cognitum ex quodam captivo est. Id vero adeo  
 superbum atque indignum visum, eius soli quod ipse  
 bello captum possideret haberetque inventum Romae  
 emptorem, ut extemplo vocato praecone tabernas  
 argentarias quae circa forum Romanum essent  
 iusserit venire.
- 8 His motus ad Tutiam fluvium castra rettulit, sex  
 milia passuum ab urbe. Inde ad lucum Feroniae  
 pergit ire, templum ea tempestate inclutum divitiis.
- 9 Capenates alique qui<sup>2</sup> accolae eius erant primitias  
 frugum eo donaque alia pro copia portantes multo  
 auro argentoque id exornatum habebant. Iis  
 omnibus donis tum spoliatum templum; aeris  
 acervi, cum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent,
- 10 post profectionem Hannibalis magni inventi. Huius  
 populatio templi haud dubia inter scriptores est.  
 Coelius Romam euntem ab Ereto devertisse eo  
 Hannibalem tradit, iterque eius ab Reate Cutilisque
- 11 et ab Amiterno orditur: ex Campania in Samnium,  
 inde in Paelignos pervenisse, praeterque oppidum  
 Sulmonem in Marrucinos transisse, inde Albensi  
 agro in Marsos, hinc Amiternum Forulosque vicum

<sup>1</sup> per Kz: om. P(1)J.<sup>2</sup> qui x Gronovius: om. P(1): B<sup>2</sup>JK seem to have reduced alique qui to aliqui.<sup>1</sup> I.e. small banners hanging from a cross-bar. The *vezillum* was used by detachments, here of recruits, as also by cavalry; cf. XXV. xiv. 4.<sup>2</sup> In southern Etruria, at the foot of Mt. Soracte; XXVII. iv. 14 f.; XXXIII. xxvi. 8.

ments had set out under their colours<sup>1</sup> to reinforce s.o. 211 Spain; and the unimportant circumstance was that he learned from a prisoner that about this time the land on which he had his camp chanced to have been sold, with no reduction in price on that account. But it seemed to him so arrogant and such an indignity that a purchaser should have been found at Rome for the ground which he had seized in war and was himself its occupier and owner, that he forthwith summoned a herald and ordered the bankers' shops which were round the Roman Forum to be sold.

Influenced by these circumstances he moved his camp back to the river Tutia, six miles from the city. Thence he proceeded to the grove of Feronia,<sup>2</sup> a shrine which at that time was noted for its wealth. The people of Capena and others who lived near it used to carry thither first-fruits and gifts in addition according to their means, and had kept it richly adorned with gold and silver. Of all those gifts the temple was at that time despoiled. Great heaps of bronze were found after the departure of Hannibal, since the soldiers inspired by religious fear deposited crude lumps. As to the spoiling of this temple there is no uncertainty among the historians. Coelius relates that on his way to Rome Hannibal turned aside to it from Eretum, and traces his march from Reate and Cutiliae and Amiternum. He says that from Campania he came into Samnium, thence into the land of the Paelignians, and passing the town of Sulmo, over into the country of the Marrucini; thence through the territory of Alba<sup>3</sup> into that of the Marsians, and then to Amiternum and the village of

<sup>3</sup> Alba Fucens, northwest of the Lacus Fucinus; XXX. xvii. 2.

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12 venisse. Neque ibi error est quod tanti ducis tantique<sup>1</sup> exercitus vestigia intra tam brevis aevi memoriam potuerint confundi—isse enim ea con-  
13 stat—; tantum id interest, veneritne eo itinere ad urbem an ab urbe in Campaniam redierit.

XII. Ceterum non quantum Romanis pertinaciae ad premendam obsidione Capuam fuit, tantum ad  
2 defendendam Hannibali. Namque per Samnium Apuliamque<sup>2</sup> et Lucanos in Bruttium agrum ad fretum ac Regium eo cursu contendit ut prope re-  
3 pentino adventu incautos oppresserit. Capua etsi nihilo segnius obsessa per eos dies fuerat, tamen adventum Flacci sensit, et admiratio orta est non  
4 simul regressum Hannibalem. Inde per colloquia intellexerunt relictos se desertosque et spem Capuae  
5 retinendae deploratam apud Poenos esse. Accessit edictum proconsulum<sup>3</sup> ex senatus consulto propositum volgatamque apud hostis, ut qui civis Campanus  
6 ante certam diem transisset sine fraude esset. Nec ulla facta est transitio, metu magis eos quam fide continente, quia maiora in defectione deliquerant  
7 quam quibus ignosci posset. Ceterum quem ad modum nemo privato consilio ad hostem transibat,  
8 ita nihil salutare in medium consulebatur. Nobilitas rem publicam deseruerant<sup>4</sup> neque in senatum cogi poterant; in magistratu erat qui non sibi honorem adiecisset, sed indignitate sua vim ac ius magistratui

<sup>1</sup> ducis tanti. *Weissenborn*: om. *P(1)JK*.

<sup>2</sup> per Samnium Apuliamque *Luchs, Conway*: om. *P(1)JK*,  
<sup>a</sup> lost line: per Samnium *Web*.

<sup>3</sup> proconsulum x: -lis *A<sup>o</sup>K Aldus*: abbreviated in *P(1)J*.

<sup>4</sup> deseruerant *P(3)*: -rat *M<sup>1</sup> AJK Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> Actually avoiding Campania he went on to the southernmost part of Italy. Cf. *De Sanctis, Storia*, III. 2. 342.

Foruli. And the uncertainty is not because the *a.d.* 211 traces of so great a commander and so large an army could within the memory of so short a period have become confused, for it is agreed that he passed that way. The only difference is whether he came to the city by that route, or returned by it from the city into Campania.<sup>1</sup>

XII. But the Romans' persistence in pressing the siege of Capua was not matched by that of Hannibal in defending it. For through Samnium and Apulia and Lucania he hastened into the Bruttian region, to the strait and Regium, at such a pace as almost to overwhelm them unawares by arriving suddenly. Capua, although during that time it had been besieged with no less spirit, nevertheless was aware of the coming of Flaccus, and began to wonder that Hannibal had not returned at the same time. Then by conversing with the enemy they learned that they had been deserted and abandoned, and that the hope of retaining Capua had been given up by the Carthaginians. There was also an edict of the proconsuls, posted and published among the enemy in accordance with a decree of the senate, that any Capuan citizen who changed sides before a certain date should suffer no penalty. And yet there was no changing of sides, for fear restrained them more than honour, because in their revolt they had committed offences too serious to be pardoned. But just as no one of his own motion went over to the enemy, so they made no promising plans for the common interest. The nobility had deserted the state and could not be brought together in the senate. In the office of magistrate was a man who had not gained additional honour for himself, but by his own unworthiness had

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- 9 quem gerebat dempsisset. Iam ne in foro quidem aut publico loco principum quisquam apparebat; domibus inclusi patriae occasum cum suo exitio in dies expectabant.
- 10 Summa curae omnis in Bostarem Hannonemque, praefectos praesidii Punici, versa erat, suo non
- 11 sociorum periculo sollicitos. Ii conscriptis ad Hannibalem litteris non libere modo, sed etiam aspere, quibus non Capuam solam<sup>1</sup> traditam in manum hostibus, sed se quoque et<sup>2</sup> praesidium
- 12 in omnis cruciatus proditos incusabant: abisse eum in Bruttios velut avertentem sese, ne Capua in oculis eius caperetur. At hercule Romanos ne oppugnatione quidem urbis Romanae abstrahi a
- 13 Capua obsidenda potuisse; tanto constantiorem inimicum Romanum quam amicum Poenum esse. Si redeat Capuam bellumque omne eo vertat, et se
- 14 et Campanos paratos eruptioni fore. Non cum Reginis neque Tarentinis bellum gesturos transisse Alps: ubi Romanae legiones sint, ibi et Carthaginiensium exercitus debere esse. Sic ad Cannas, sic ad Trasumennum rem bene gestam, coeundo conferundoque cum hoste castra, fortunam temptando.
- 5 In hanc sententiam litterae conscriptae Numidis, proposita mercede eam<sup>3</sup> professis operam, dantur. Ii specie transfugarum cum ad Flaccum in castra

<sup>1</sup> solam P(1): solum JK Aldus.<sup>2</sup> et A JK Aldus: om. P(1).<sup>3</sup> eam Duker: iam P(1) JK.<sup>1</sup> Cf. vi. 13 ff.

taken away power and authority from the office which he was holding.<sup>1</sup> No longer did any one of the foremost citizens show himself even in the forum or any public place. Shut up in their houses they were awaiting from day to day the fall of their native city and their own destruction.

The chief responsibility had fallen wholly to Bostar and Hanno, commanders of the Carthaginian garrison, and they were concerned only for their own danger, not that of their allies. They wrote a letter to Hannibal in terms not only outspoken, but also bitter, in which they charged that it was not Capua alone that had been delivered into the hands of the enemy, but that they themselves also and the garrison had been abandoned to every kind of torture; that he had gone away to the land of the Bruttii, as though turning his back so that Capua should not be captured before his eyes. But assuredly, they said, the Romans could not be drawn away from besieging Capua even by an assault upon the city of Rome; so much more steadfast was the Roman as an enemy than the Carthaginian as a friend. If he should return to Capua and there concentrate the whole war, they and the Capuans likewise would be ready for a sally. It was not to wage war with the people of Regium and Tarentum that they had crossed the Alps. Where the Roman legions were, there ought the Carthaginian armies also to be. Thus at Cannae, thus at Trasumennus, by coming to grips and pitching camp near the enemy, by trying their luck they had met with success. A letter to this effect was given to Numidians who with a reward set before them promised to perform that service. Posing as deserters they had come before Flaccus in his camp, with the

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venissent, ut inde tempore capto abirent, famesque, quae tam<sup>1</sup> diu Capuae erat, nulli non probabilem  
 16 causam transitionis faceret, mulier repente Campana in castra venit, scortum transfugarum unius, indicatque imperatori Romano Numidas fraude composita  
 17 transisse litterasque ad Hannibalem ferre: id unum ex iis qui sibi rem aperuisset arguere sese paratam esse. Productus primo satis constanter ignorare se mulierem simulabat; paulatim dein convictus veris,  
 18 cum tormenta posci et parari videret, fassus<sup>2</sup> id ita esse, litteraeque prolatae. Additum<sup>3</sup> etiam indicio quod celabatur, et alios specie transfugarum Numidas vagari in castris Romanis. Ii supra septuaginta comprehensi et cum transfugis novis mulcati virgis manibusque praecisis Capuam rediguntur.

XIII. Conspectum tam triste supplicium fregit animos Campanorum. Concursus ad curiam populi factus coegit Loesium senatum vocare; et primoribus, qui iam diu publicis consiliis aberant, propalam minabantur, nisi venirent in senatum, circa domos eorum ituros se et in publicum omnis vi extracturos esse. Is timor frequentem senatum magistratui  
 2 praebuit. Ibi cum ceteri de legatis mittendis ad imperatores Romanos agerent, Vibius Virrius, qui

<sup>1</sup> tam P(1)JK Aldus: iam Sigonius.

<sup>2</sup> fassus P(3)B<sup>2</sup>JK: fassus est Madvig.

<sup>3</sup> Additum Duker, Madvig: et additum P(1)JK.

<sup>1</sup> The usual punishment for spies; XXII. xxxiii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXIII. vi.

intention of choosing the right moment and then B.C. 211 departing—and the famine which had lasted so long at Capua gave every man a plausible reason for deserting—when suddenly a Campanian woman, mistress of one of the deserters, came into the camp and informed the Roman general that the Numidians by agreement had pretended to change sides and were bearing a letter to Hannibal: that she was prepared to prove that charge against one of their number who had revealed the matter to her. On being produced, he at first quite firmly pretended that he did not know the woman. Then by degrees he was overpowered by the facts, and seeing that they were demanding and preparing torture, he admitted that it was true, and the letter was produced. She added to her information what they were trying to conceal, namely, that other Numidians also were abroad in the Roman camp playing the part of deserters. Over seventy of them were arrested, and together with the new deserters they were scourged with rods, and after their hands had been cut off<sup>1</sup> they were sent back to Capua.

XIII. The sight of so merciless a punishment broke the spirit of the Capuans. A gathering of the people before the Senate House compelled Loesius to summon the senate. And they openly threatened the leading citizens, who for a long time had been absent from public deliberations, that if they did not come into the senate, they would make the rounds of their homes and forcibly bring them all out into the streets. The fear of that gave the magistrate a full session of the senate. There, while all the rest were speaking of sending legates to the Roman generals, Vibius Virrius,<sup>2</sup> who had proposed rebellion from

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defectionis auctor ab Romanis fuerat, interrogatus  
 3 sententiam negat eos qui de legatis et de pace ac  
 deditione loquantur meminisse nec quid facturi  
 fuerint, si Romanos in potestate habuissent, nec quid  
 4 ipsis patiendum sit. "Quid? vos" inquit "eam  
 deditionem fore censetis qua quondam, ut adversus  
 Samnites auxilium impetraremus, nos nostraque  
 5 omnia Romanis dedidimus?<sup>1</sup> Iam e memoria ex-  
 cessit quo tempore et in qua fortuna a populo Romano  
 defecerimus? iam, quem ad modum in defectione  
 praesidium, quod poterat emitti, per cruciatum et  
 6 ad contumeliam necarimus? quotiens in obsidentis  
 quam inimice eruperimus, castra oppugnarimus,  
 Hannibalem vocaverimus ad opprimendos eos?  
 hoc, quod recentissimum est, ad oppugnandam  
 7 Romam hinc eum miserimus? Age contra, quae illi  
 infeste in nos fecerint, repetite, ut ex eo quid speretis  
 habeatis. Cum hostis alienigena in Italia esset, et  
 Hannibal hostis, et cuncta bello arderent, omissis  
 omnibus, omisso ipso Hannibale, ambo consules et  
 duo consulares exercitus ad Capuam oppugnandam  
 8 miserunt. Alterum annum circumvallatos inclusosque  
 nos fame macerant, et ipsi nobiscum ultima pericula  
 et<sup>2</sup> gravissimos labores perpessi, circa vallum ac  
 fossas saepe trucidati ac prope ad extremum castris  
 9 exuti. Sed omitto haec: vetus atque usitata res est

<sup>1</sup> dedidimus *Modius*: dedimus *P(1)JK Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> et *C*: e *P*: om. *RMBDAJK Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. VII. xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat differently told in XXIII. vii. 3.

Rome, on being asked for his opinion, said that the men who were speaking of embassies and of peace and surrender did not recall either what they would have done, if they had had the Romans in their power, or what they themselves must suffer. "Tell me," he said, "do you suppose it will be the same kind of surrender as that under which we once gave up ourselves and all our possessions to the Romans, that we might obtain their aid against the Samnites?<sup>1</sup> Have you already forgotten in what a critical moment and in what a situation for the Roman people we have revolted from them? Have you already forgotten how at the time of our revolt we with torture and as an insult put to death a garrison which we might have let go?<sup>2</sup> or how often and with what bitterness we have made a sally against the besiegers, have beset their camps, have called in Hannibal to overpower them? or how—this the most recent occurrence—we have sent him away to lay siege to Rome? And now for the other side, recall what have been their acts of hostility towards us, that by so doing you may know what you have to expect. When a foreign enemy was in Italy, and that enemy Hannibal, and when everywhere were the flames of war, neglecting everything, neglecting even Hannibal, they sent both consuls and two consular armies to besiege Capua. Now for the second year they are wasting us away by starvation, shut up inside their contravallation, while they too like ourselves have endured the utmost dangers and most serious hardships, have been slain, many of them, about their earthworks and trenches, and have at last had their camp almost taken. But I pass over these things; to suffer hardships and dangers in besieging a city of

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- in oppugnanda hostium urbe labores ac pericula pati. Illud irae atque odii execrabilis<sup>1</sup> indicium est:
- 10 Hannibal ingentibus copiis peditum equitumque castra oppugnavit et ex parte cepit: tanto periculo nihil moti sunt ab obsidione. Profectus trans Volturnum perussit Calenum agrum: nihil tanta
- 11 sociorum clade avvocati sunt. Ad ipsam urbem Romam infesta signa ferri iussit: eam quoque tempestatem imminentem spreverunt. Transgressus Anienem<sup>2</sup> tria milia passuum ab urbe castra posuit, postremo ad moenia ipsa et ad portas accessit; Romam se adepturum eis, nisi omitterent Capuam,
- 12 ostendit: non omiserunt. Feras bestias caeco impetu ac rabie concitatas, si ad cubilia et catulos earum ire pergas, ad opem suis ferendam avertas:
- 13 Romanos Roma circumsessa, coniuges, liberi, quorum ploratus hinc prope exaudiebantur, arae, foci, deum delubra, sepulcra maiorum temerata ac violata a Capua non averterunt; tanta aviditas supplicii expetendi, tanta sanguinis nostri hauriendi est
- 14 sitis. Nec iniuria forsitan; nos quoque idem fecissemus, si data fortuna esset. Itaque quoniam aliter dis immortalibus est visum, cum mortem ne recusare quidem debeam, cruciatus contumeliasque quas parat hostis, dum liber, dum mei potens sum, effugere morte praeterquam honesta, etiam leni
- 15 possum. Non videbo Ap. Claudium et Q. Fulvium victoria insolenti subnixos, neque vinctus per urbem

<sup>1</sup> execrabilis *C<sup>2</sup>M<sup>1</sup>?JK Aldus: P(1) add -que: inexpabilis execrabilisque Alschefski, Conway.*

<sup>2</sup> Anienem *D Aldus: P(3) add amnem (before the name JK).*

<sup>1</sup> His first camp had been on the right bank of the Anio; x. 3; xi. 1; Polybius IX. v. 9.

the enemy is an old and familiar story. I proceed to A.C. 211  
proof of anger and hatred that are unspeakable. Hannibal with immense forces of infantry and cavalry besieged and partly captured their camp: by such danger they were not moved at all to give up the siege. Setting out across the Volturnus he ravaged the territory of Cales with fire: by such a disaster to allies they were in no wise called away. He ordered his hostile standards to be carried to the city of Rome itself: that impending storm also they scorned. Crossing the Anio<sup>1</sup> he pitched camp three miles from the city, finally came close to the very walls and gates, showed that unless they should leave Capua he would take Rome away from them: they did not leave Capua. Wild beasts, though excited by blind impulse and fury, can be diverted to bring help to their young, if one goes towards their lairs and their whelps. As for the Romans, the siege of Rome, their wives and children, whose wailing could almost be heard from here, their altars and hearths, the shrines of their gods, the desecrated and profaned tombs of their ancestors did not divert them from Capua. Such is their ardour in demanding punishment, such their thirst to drink our blood. And perhaps not without reason; we too should have done the same, had the chance been given us. Therefore since the immortal gods have made a contrary decision, inasmuch as I ought under no circumstances to refuse death, I, while free and my own master, can escape tortures and insults which the enemy is preparing, by a death which is not only honourable, but also gentle. I shall not see Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius, emboldened by their insolent victory, nor shall I be dragged in chains

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Romanam triumphi spectaculum trahar, ut deinde in  
 carcerem<sup>1</sup> conditus exspirem<sup>2</sup> aut ad<sup>3</sup> palum deli-  
 gatus, lacerato virgis tergo, cervicem securi Romanae  
 subiciam; nec dirui incendique patriam videbo, nec  
 16 rapi ad stuprum matres Campanas virginesque et  
 ingenuos pueros. Albam, unde ipsi oriundi erant,  
 a fundamentis prouerunt, ne stirpis,<sup>4</sup> ne memoria  
 originum suarum exstaret: nedum eos Capuae  
 parsuros credam, cui infestiores quam Carthagini  
 17 sunt. Itaque quibus vestrum ante fato cedere quam  
 haec tot tam acerba videant in animo est, iis apud  
 18 me hodie epulae instructae parataeque sunt. Satiatis  
 vino ciboque poculum idem quod mihi datum fuerit  
 circumferetur; ea potio corpus a cruciatu, animum a  
 contumeliis, oculos, auris a videndis audiendisque  
 omnibus acerbis indignisque quae manent victos  
 vindicabit. Parati erunt qui magno rogo in propa-  
 tulo aedium accenso corpora exanima iniciant.  
 19 Haec una via et honesta et libera ad mortem. Et  
 ipsi virtutem mirabuntur hostes, et Hannibal fortis  
 socios sciet ab se desertos ac proditos esse."

XIV. Hanc orationem Virri plures cum adsensu  
 audierunt quam forti animo id quod probabant  
 2 exsequi potuerunt. Maior pars senatus, multis  
 saepe bellis expertam populi Romani clementiam

<sup>1</sup> carcerem (or -carem) P(1)JK Aldus: carcere A\* Froben 2,  
*Madvig* (who omits aut).

<sup>2</sup> conditus exspirem W. Heraeus: om. P(1): expirem  
*M. Müller* (with in carcere).

<sup>3</sup> ad A\*JK Aldus: om. P(1).

<sup>4</sup> stirpis P(1)Jz: stirps Kz.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. xxix.

through the city of Rome as a spectacle in a triumph, A.C. 211  
 so that I may then breathe my last in the prison, or  
 else, bound to a stake, with my back mangled by rods,  
 may submit my neck to the Roman axe. Nor shall I  
 see my native city destroyed and burned, nor Capuan  
 matrons and maidens and free-born boys carried off  
 to be dishonoured. Alba, from which they had  
 themselves sprung, they levelled with its founda-  
 tions,<sup>1</sup> that their stock, that the memory of their  
 origin, might not survive; much less am I to believe  
 that they will spare Capua, to which they are more  
 hostile than to Carthage. Accordingly, as many of  
 you as are minded to yield to fate before they see all  
 these sights that are so bitter, for such in my house a  
 feast is spread and in readiness today. When we have  
 had our fill of wine and food, the same cup which has  
 been served to me shall be carried round. That  
 draught will defend the body from torture, the mind  
 from insults, eyes and ears from seeing and hearing  
 all the bitter and unseemly things which await the  
 vanquished. Men will be ready to light a great  
 pyre in the court<sup>2</sup> of the house and throw our life-  
 less bodies upon it. This is the one way, at once  
 honourable and independent, that leads to death.  
 Even our enemies will admire our courage, and  
 Hannibal will also know that they were brave allies  
 whom he has abandoned and betrayed."

XIV. This speech of Virrius more men heard with  
 approval than had the courage to carry out what  
 they commended. The majority of the senate, not  
 doubting that the clemency of the Roman people,

<sup>2</sup> Here evidently the peristyle, not the atrium (as in XXIV.  
 xvi. 17 and XXV. xii. 15). A forecourt (*vestibulum*) would  
 have been too public.

haud diffidentes sibi quoque placabilem fore, legatos ad dedendam Romanis Capuam decreverunt miseruntque. Vibium Virrium septem et viginti ferme senatores domum secuti sunt, epulatique cum eo et, quantum facere potuerant alienatis mentibus vino ab imminentis sensu mali, venenum omnes sumpserunt; inde misso convivio dextris inter se datis ultimoque complexu conlacrimantes suum patriaeque casum, alii, ut eodem rogo cremarentur, manserunt, alii domos digressi sunt. Inpletae cibis vinoque venae minus efficacem in maturanda morte vim veneni fecerunt; itaque noctem totam plerique eorum et diei insequentis partem cum animam egissent, omnes tamen prius quam aperirentur hostibus portae exspirarunt.

6 Postero die porta Iovis, quae adversus castra Romana erat, iussu proconsulum<sup>1</sup> aperta est. Ea intromissa  
7 legio una et duae alae cum C. Fulvio legato. Is cum omnium primum arma telaque quae Capuae erant ad se conferenda curasset, custodiis ad omnes portas dispositis, ne quis exire aut emitti posset, praesidium Punicum comprehendit, senatum Campanum ire in  
8 castra ad imperatores Romanos iussit. Quo cum venissent, extemplo iis omnibus catenae iniectae, iussique ad quaestores deferre quod auri atque argenti haberent. Auri pondo duo milia<sup>2</sup> septuaginta fuit, argenti triginta milia pondo et mille<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> proconsulum *K. Ruperti, Madvig*: -lis B<sup>2</sup>J: abbreviated P(3).

<sup>2</sup> duo milia (i.e. ∞ ∞) *PC*: other *MSS.* omit.

<sup>3</sup> mille (i.e. ∞) *PC*: similar omission in others.

<sup>1</sup> Towards Tifata and its temple of Jupiter. By this gate the Via Appia seems to have left the city on its way to Beneventum.

known to them frequently in many wars, would be B.C. 311  
forgiving to them also, voted and sent legates to surrender Capua to the Romans. About twenty-seven senators followed Vibius Virrius home; and after they had feasted with him, and so far as possible had deadened their minds with wine to the sense of impending misfortune, they all took the poison. Then at the end of the feast they gave each other the right hand and a last embrace, and weeping for their own fate and that of their native city, some remained, that they might be cremated on the same pyre, the rest left for their several homes. Filled with food and wine, their veins made the poison less effectual in hastening death. And so, although most of them were in the throes through the whole of the night and part of the following day, all of them, however, died before the gates were opened to the enemy.

On the next day the Jupiter Gate,<sup>1</sup> which faced the Roman camp, was opened by order of the proconsuls. By that gate one legion was admitted and two *alae*<sup>2</sup> with Gaius Fulvius, the lieutenant. He first of all saw to it that the arms and weapons that were in Capua should be brought to him; then posting sentinels at all the gates, that no one might be able to go out or be sent out, he seized the Carthaginian garrison, and ordered the Capuan senate to go to the Roman generals in the camp. Arrived there, they were all put in chains and bidden to bring to the quaestors what gold and silver they had. The amount of gold was two thousand and seventy pounds, of silver thirty-one thousand two hundred

<sup>2</sup> I.e. cavalry units of the allies, say 500 men each.



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9 ducenta. Senatores quinque et viginti Cales in custodiam, duodetriginta Teanum missi,<sup>1</sup> quorum de sententia maxime descitum ab Romanis constabat.

XV. De supplicio Campani senatus haudquaquam inter Fulvium Claudiumque conveniebat: facilis impetrandae veniae Claudius, Fulvii<sup>2</sup> durior sententia  
2 erat. Itaque Appius Romam ad senatum arbitrium  
3 eius rei totum reiciebat: percunctandi etiam aequum esse potestatem fieri patribus, num communicassent consilia cum aliquis<sup>3</sup> sociorum Latini nominis,<sup>4</sup> et  
4 num ope eorum in bello forent adiuti. Id vero minime committendum esse Fulvius dicere ut sollicitarentur criminibus dubiis sociorum fidelium animi, et subicerentur indicibus quis neque quid dicerent<sup>5</sup> neque quid facerent quicquam umquam pensi fuisset; itaque se eam quaestionem oppressurum  
5 extincturumque. Ab hoc sermone cum digressi essent, et Appius quamvis ferociter loquentem collegam non dubitaret tamen litteras super tanta  
6 re ab Roma expectaturum, Fulvius, ne id ipsum impedimentum incepto foret, dimittens praetorium tribunis militum ac praefectis socium imperavit uti duobus milibus equitum delectis denuntiarent ut ad tertiam bucinam praesto essent.

7 Cum hoc equitatu nocte Teanum profectus, prima luce portam intravit atque in forum perrexit; concursuque ad primum equitum ingressum facto

<sup>1</sup> missi *M<sup>2</sup> AJK Aldus*: misit *P(3)*.

<sup>2</sup> Fulvi(i) *AJK Aldus*: fulvio *P(3) Gronovius*.

<sup>3</sup> aliquis *P(1)x*: aliquibus *A<sup>2</sup> JK Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> nominis *P(1) JK Aldus*, adding municipiorum, a gloss, and repeating it (except *P<sup>1</sup> C<sup>2</sup> A<sup>2</sup> K*) after forent.

pounds. Of the senators known to have especially a.c. 211 promoted revolt from the Romans twenty-five were sent to Cales to be imprisoned, twenty-eight to Teanum.

XV. On the punishment of the Capuan senators there was no kind of agreement between Fulvius and Claudius. Ready to hear a plea for pardon was Claudius; more inflexible was Fulvius' opinion. Accordingly Appius was inclined to refer the entire decision of the case to the senate at Rome. Furthermore he thought it right that the fathers should be given authority to enquire of these men whether they had shared their plans with some of the Latin allies, and whether they had been helped by them in the war. But Fulvius said that they must on no account run the risk of troubling the feelings of faithful allies by unsubstantiated charges and of exposing them to informers, who never had had any scruple as to what they were saying or what they were doing; hence he would quash and suppress that investigation. When they had separated directly after this speech, Appius had no doubt that his colleague, in spite of his fierce words, would wait, however, for a letter from Rome on a matter of such importance. But Fulvius for fear that very thing might hinder his project, dismissed the council, and ordered the tribunes of the soldiers and the prefects of allies to instruct two thousand picked cavalry to be ready at the bugle-call of the third watch.

Setting out by night for Teanum with this cavalry, he entered the gate at dawn and proceeded to the forum. At the first entry of the horsemen a crowd

<sup>5</sup> neque quid dicerent *Alschefski, Conway*: after facerent z: om. *P(1) JK*.

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- magistratum Sidicinum citari iussit imperavitque ut produceret Campanos quos in custodia haberet.
- 8 Producti omnes virgisque caesi ac securi percussi. Inde citato equo Cales percurrit; ubi cum in tribunali consedisset productique Campani deligarentur ad palum, eques citus ab Roma venit litterasque a C. Calpurnio praetore Fulvio et senatus consultum
- 9 tradit. Murmur ab tribunali totam contionem pervasit differri rem integram ad patres de Campanis. Et Fulvius, id ita esse ratus acceptas litteras neque resolutas cum in gremio reposuisset, praeconi imperavit ut lictorem lege agere iuberet. Ita de iis quoque qui Calibus erant sumptum supplicium.
- 10 Tum litterae lectae senatusque consultum, serum ad impediendam rem actam quae summa ope adproperata
- 11 erat, ne impedi posset. Consurgentem iam Fulvium Taurea Vibellius Campanus, per mediam vadens turbam, nomine inclamavit et, cum mirabundus
- 12 quidnam sese vellet resedisset Flaccus, "Me quoque" inquit "iube occidi, ut gloriari possis multo fortio-rem
- 13 quam ipse es virum abs te occisum esse." Cum Flaccus negaret profecto satis compotem mentis esse,<sup>1</sup> modo prohiberi etiam se, si id vellet, senatus consulto
- 14 diceret, tum Vibellius "Quando quidem" inquit "capta patria, propinquis amicisque amissis, cum ipse manu mea coniugem liberosque interfecerim,

<sup>1</sup> mentis esse P(3)B<sup>2</sup> Aldus, Priscian: esse mentis AJKz.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. no doubt the *medix tuticus* of the region in which Teanum lay.

<sup>2</sup> Not as prisoners of war, but as Roman citizens whose lives were forfeited because of dealing with the enemy; so ordained in the XII Tables; cf. *Digest* XLVIII. iv. 3.

gathered, and he bade that the Sidicinian magis-  
trate<sup>1</sup> be summoned, and ordered him to bring out  
the Capuans whom he had under arrest. All were  
brought out, scourged with rods and beheaded.<sup>2</sup>  
Thence he hastened at full speed to Cales. There,  
after he had taken his seat on the tribunal and the  
Capuans were brought out and were being bound to  
stakes, came a horseman post haste from Rome and  
handed to Fulvius a letter from Gaius Calpurnius,  
the praetor, and a decree of the senate. Beginning  
at the tribunal a rumour spread through the whole  
assembly that the case of the Capuans was reserved  
for decision by the senators. Fulvius also thought  
that was the case, took the letter, but without  
breaking the seal, and having placed it in his bosom,  
commanded a herald to order the lictor to carry out  
the legal punishment. Thus was punishment visited  
upon those also who were at Cales. Then the letter  
was read and the decree of the senate, too late to  
prevent an action which had been hastened by every  
means, that prevention might be impossible. Just  
as Fulvius was rising from his seat, Taurea Vibellius  
the Capuan, striding through the middle of the  
crowd, called him by name, and when Flaccus,  
wondering what he wished of him, had sat down  
again, Vibellius said "Order me also to be slain, that  
you may be able to boast that a much braver man  
than you are yourself has been slain by you." When  
Flaccus said that the man was doubtless of unsound  
mind, and then added that, if he wished to do so, he  
was forbidden by the decree of the senate, thereupon  
Vibellius said "Since indeed, although my native  
city has been taken, my relatives and friends lost,  
and with my own hand I have killed my wife and

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ne quid indigni paterentur, mihi ne mortis quidem copia eadem est quae his civibus meis, petatur a  
15 virtute invisae huius vitae vindicta." Atque ita gladio quem veste texerat per adversum pectus transfixus, ante pedes imperatoris moribundus procubuit.

XVI. Quia et quod ad supplicium attinet Campanorum et pleraque alia de Flacci unius sententia acta erant, mortuum Ap. Claudium sub deditionem  
2 Capuae quidam tradunt. Hunc quoque ipsum Tauream neque sua sponte venisse Cales neque sua manu interfectum, sed dum<sup>1</sup> inter ceteros ad palum deligatur,<sup>2</sup> quia parum inter strepitus exaudiri possent quae vociferaretur,<sup>3</sup> silentium fieri Flaccum  
3 iussisse; tum Tauream illa quae ante memorata sunt dixisse, virum se fortissimum ab nequaquam pari ad virtutem occidi; sub haec dicta iussu proconsulis praeconem ita pronuntiasse: "Lictor, viro forti  
4 adde virgas et in eum primum lege age." Lectum quoque senatus consultum, priusquam securi feriret, quidam auctores sunt, sed quia adscriptum in senatus consulto fuerit, si ei videretur, integram rem ad senatum reiceret, interpretatum esse quid magis e re publica duceret aestimationem sibi permissam.  
5 Capuam a Calibus reditum est, Atellaque et Calatia in deditionem acceptae. Ibi quoque in eos qui

<sup>1</sup> dum *Froben 2, Conway*: cum *P(1)JK Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> deligatur *Froben 2, Conway*: -atus *P(1)JK Aldus, Weissenborn (adding quiritalet)*.

<sup>3</sup> vociferaretur *Harant, Conway*: -feratur *P(3)A<sup>1</sup>?*: -ferantur *BDA*: -ferabatur *C<sup>4</sup>M<sup>3</sup>A<sup>4</sup>J<sup>1</sup>K Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> So Zonaras IX. vi. Livy at xxxiii. 4 says *post captam (Capuam)*, following another authority. Appian died of his wound.

children, that they might suffer no indignity, for B.C. 211  
myself there is not the same possibility even to die that these my fellow-citizens have had, let courage give me a release from this odious life." And so with a sword which he had concealed under his clothing he ran himself directly through the breast and fell dying at the feet of the general.

XVI. Because all that had to do with the punishment of the Capuans and many other things were done by the decision of Flaccus alone, some relate that Appian Claudius died just before the surrender of Capua.<sup>1</sup> Further, they say that Taurea himself did not voluntarily come to Cales, and was not slain by his own hand, but that while he was being bound along with the rest to a stake, because what he was shouting could not be heard clearly for the noise, Flaccus ordered silence; that then Taurea, as has been stated above, said that he, the bravest of men, was being killed by one who was in no way his equal in courage; that after these words the herald by order of the proconsul proclaimed "Lictor, give the brave man a beating; on him first the legal penalty!" Some authorities say that the decree of the senate also was read before he beheaded them; but that, because in the decree of the senate it was added that, if he saw fit,<sup>2</sup> he should refer the decision to the verdict of the senate, he interpreted it that they allowed him to decide which course he thought more to the interest of the state.

From Cales they returned to Capua, and the surrender of Atella and Calatia was received. There also punishment was inflicted on the responsible

<sup>2</sup> The regular formula when the senate instructed a magistrate; cf. XXII. xxxiii. 9; XXV. xli. 9.

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6 capita rerum erant animadversum. Ita ad septua-  
ginta principes senatus interfecti, trecenti ferme  
nobiles Campani in carcerem conditi, alii per sociorum  
Latini nominis urbes in custodias dati, variis casibus  
interierunt: multitudo alia civium Campanorum  
7 venum data. De urbe agroque reliqua consultatio  
fuit, quibusdam delendam censentibus urbem prae-  
validam, propinquam, inimicam. Ceterum praesens  
utilitas vicit; nam propter agrum, quem omni  
fertilitate terrae satis constabat primum in Italia  
esse, urbs servata est, ut esset aliqua aratorum  
8 sedes. Urbi frequentandae multitudo incolarum  
libertinorumque et institorum opificumque retenta:  
ager omnis et tecta publica populi Romani facta.  
9 Ceterum habitari tantum tamquam urbem Capuam  
frequentarique placuit, corpus nullum civitatis nec  
senatum<sup>1</sup> nec plebis concilium nec magistratus esse:  
10 sine consilio publico, sine imperio multitudinem,  
nullius rei inter se sociam, ad consensum inhabilem  
fore; praefectum ad iura reddenda ab Roma quo-  
11 tannis missuros. Ita ad Capuam res compositae  
consilio ab omni parte laudabili. Severe et celeriter  
in maxime noxios animadversum; multitudo civium  
12 dissipata in nullam spem reditus; non saevitum  
incendiis ruinisque in tecta innoxia murosque, et

<sup>1</sup> senatum JKzz Duker: senatus P(1) Aldus.

<sup>1</sup> Including the fifty-three executed at Teanum and Cales. For a more detailed statement of the terms meted out to Capua see below, xxxiv. 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. at Rome, in the senate.

<sup>3</sup> A *praefectus iure dicundo*, elected by popular vote. The treatment of Capua in contrast with Corinth and Carthage is enlarged upon by Cicero, *de Lege Agr.* II. 84 and 88 f. Among

leaders. Thus about seventy prominent senators A.C. 211 were put to death;<sup>1</sup> some three hundred noble Campanians who were put in prison, and others who were distributed among cities of Latin allies to be guarded, met death in different ways. The remaining mass of Campanian citizens were sold. In regard to the city and its territory discussion continued,<sup>2</sup> inasmuch as some thought a city very powerful, near, and unfriendly should be destroyed. But immediate advantage prevailed. For on account of the territory, which was well known to be foremost in Italy in all that the fertile soil produced, the city was preserved, that the tillers of the land might have some abode. To people the city the multitude of resident aliens and freedmen and petty tradesmen and artisans was retained. The whole territory and the buildings became public property of the Roman people. But it was decided that Capua, as a nominal city, should merely be a dwelling-place and a centre of population, but should have no political body nor senate nor council of the plebs nor magistrates. They thought that the multitude, without a public council, without military authority, having nothing in common amongst them, would be incapable of agreement; the Romans would send out every year a prefect to administer justice.<sup>3</sup> Thus matters concerning Capua were settled according to a plan that was in every respect praiseworthy. Stern and prompt was the punishment of the most guilty; the mass of citizens were scattered with no hope of a return; no rage was vented upon innocent buildings and city-walls by burning and demolition. And the prefectures Festus lists Capua, Casilinum, Volturnum (p. 262 L).

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cum emolumento quaesita etiam apud socios lenitatis species incolumitate urbis nobilissimae opulentissimaeque, cuius ruinis omnis Campania, omnes qui Campaniam circa accolunt populi ingemuissent;  
13 confessio expressa hosti quanta vis in Romanis ad expetendas poenas ab infidelibus sociis et quam nihil in Hannibale auxilii ad receptos in fidem tuendos esset.

XVII. Romani patres perfuncti quod ad Capuam attinebat cura, C. Neroni ex iis duabus legionibus quas ad Capuam habuerat sex milia peditum et trecentos equites quos ipse legisset et socium Latini nominis peditum numerum parem et octingentos  
2 equites decernunt. Eum exercitum Puteolis in naves inpositum Nero in Hispaniam transportavit. Cum Tarraconem navibus venisset, expositisque ibi copiis et navibus subductis, socios quoque navalis multitudinis augendae causa armasset, profectus ad  
3 Hiberum flumen exercitum ab Ti. Fonteio et L. Marcio accepit. Inde pergit ad hostis ire. Hasdrubal Hamilcaris ad Lapides Atros castra habebat; in Ausetanis<sup>1</sup> is locus est inter oppida Ilturgim et Mentissam. Huius saltus fauces Nero occupavit.  
5 Hasdrubal, ne<sup>2</sup> in arto res esset, caduceatorem misit qui promitteret, si inde emissus<sup>3</sup> foret, se omnem exercitum ex Hispania deportaturum.  
6 Quam rem cum laeto animo Romanus accepisset, diem posterum Hasdrubal conloquio petivit ut

<sup>1</sup> Ausetanis *P(1)JK*: Oretanis *Glareanus*.

<sup>2</sup> occupavit. Hasdrubal, ne *A·N·JK Froben*: om. *P(3)*.

<sup>3</sup> emissus *Madvig*: missus *P(1)JK*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. VI. 476-8; above, pp. 4-6; also 76, 140.

<sup>2</sup> Close to the eastern Pyrenees; Vol. VIII. p. 212, n. 1.

along with profit they sought a reputation among  
the allies as well for clemency, by saving a very  
important and very rich city, over whose ruins all  
Campania, all the neighbouring peoples on every  
side of Campania, would have mourned. The enemy  
were forced to acknowledge what power the Romans  
possessed to exact punishment from faithless allies,  
and how helpless Hannibal was to defend those whom  
he had taken under his protection.

XVII. At Rome the senate, having discharged its responsibilities so far as concerned Capua, voted to assign to Gaius Nero six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry of his own choosing, from the two legions which he had had before Capua, and from the Latin allies the same number of infantry and eight hundred cavalry. This army Nero embarked at Puteoli and transported to Spain. Arrived at Tarraco by sea, he there disembarked his troops, beached the ships, and armed even the crews, to increase his numbers. Then setting out for the river Ebro, he took over the army from Tiberius Fonteius and Lucius Marcius.<sup>1</sup> He thereupon proceeded against the enemy. Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, was encamped at the Black Rocks. The place is in the country of the Ausetani,<sup>2</sup> between the towns of Ilturgis<sup>3</sup> and Mentissa. Nero occupied the entrance to this pass. Hasdrubal, to avoid being entrapped, sent a herald to promise that if he should be allowed to get away, he would transport his entire army out of Spain. The Roman accepted the proposal with joy, and Hasdrubal asked for the next day for a conference, that in person they might draw up

<sup>2</sup> Here confused with a town in distant Baetica; Vol. VI. 166; *De Sanctis*, *op. cit.* 451, n. 15.

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coram<sup>1</sup> leges conscriberentur de tradendis arcibus urbium dieque statuenda ad quam praesidia deducerentur suaeque omnia sine fraude Poeni deportarent.

7 Quod ubi impetravit, extemplo primis tenebris atque inde tota nocte quod gravissimum exercitus erat Hasdrubal quacumque posset evadere e saltu<sup>2</sup>

8 iussit. Data sedulo opera est ne multi ea nocte exirent, ut ipsa paucitas cum ad hostem silentio fallendum aptior, tum ad evadendum per artas

9 semitas ac difficilis esset. Ventum insequenti die ad conloquium est; sed loquendo plura scribendoque dedita opera quae in rem non essent die consumpto,

10 in posterum dilatum est. Addita insequens nox spatium dedit et alios emittendi; nec postero die

11 res finem invenit. Ita aliquot dies disceptando palam de legibus noctesque emittendis clam e castris Carthaginiensibus absumptae. Et postquam pars maior emissa exercitus erat, iam ne iis quidem quae

12 ultro dicta erant stabatur; minusque ac minus, cum timore simul fide decrescente, conveniebat. Iam ferme pedestres omnes copiae evaserant e saltu, cum prima luce densa nebula saltum omnem camposque circa intexit. Quod ubi sensit Hasdrubal, mittit ad Neronem qui in posterum diem conloquium differret: illum diem religiosum Carthaginiensibus

13 ad agendum quicquam rei seriae<sup>3</sup> esse. Ne tum

<sup>1</sup> coram *Madrig*: romam *P(1)J*: romani (*with* conscriberent) *M<sup>a</sup>A<sup>v</sup>K Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> e saltu *BDAJK Aldus*: saltu *M<sup>1</sup>*: salu *P(3)*.

<sup>3</sup> seriae *C<sup>3</sup> Gronovius*: seria *P(3)*: feria *D*: feriam *M<sup>1</sup>?*: feriatum *Aldus* (*and A, which omits esse*).

the terms for the surrender of the citadels of cities A.C. 211 and fix a date before which the garrisons were to be evacuated, and the Carthaginians might remove all their property without molestation. Having gained that request, Hasdrubal at once gave orders that at dusk and then all through the night the heaviest troops should escape from the pass by any possible way. Great pains were taken not to have many leave that night, that even their small numbers might be better suited both to escaping the enemy's notice by silence and to making their way out by narrow and difficult paths. Next day they came to the conference;<sup>1</sup> but by speaking at unnecessary length and by purposely writing what was not to the point the day was spent, and postponement taken to the next day. The addition of the following night gave them time to send out others as well; and on the following day the business did not reach an end. Thus several days were spent in arguing openly about terms, and several nights in secretly sending Carthaginians away from the camp. And after the larger part of the army had been sent away, they ceased any longer to stand by even what they had been the first to propose. And there was less and less agreement, as honesty declined along with fear. By this time nearly all the infantry forces had escaped from the pass when at daybreak a dense fog covered the whole pass and the adjacent plain. Hasdrubal on noticing that, sent a messenger to Nero, to postpone the conference until the next day: that day was banned among the Carthaginians, he said, for the doing of anything serious. As even then fraud was

<sup>1</sup> Frontinus gives a brief account of Hasdrubal's ruse; *Strat. I. vi 19*.

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- quidem suspecta fraus cum esset, data venia eius diei, extemploque Hasdrubal cum equitatu elephantisque castris egressus sine ullo tumultu in tutum evasit.
- 14 Hora ferme quarta dispulsa sole nebula aperuit diem, vacuaque hostium castra conspexerunt Romani.
- 15 Tum demum Claudius Punicam fraudem agnoscens, ut se dolo captum sensit, proficiscentem institit sequi paratus configere acie; sed hostis detrectabat pugnam; levia tamen proelia inter extremum Punicum agmen praecursoresque Romanorum fiebant.

XVIII. Inter haec Hispaniae populi nec qui post cladem acceptam defecerant redibant ad Romanos, 2 nec ulli novi deficiebant. Et Romae senatui populoque post receptam Capuam non Italiae iam maior quam Hispaniae cura erat. Et exercitum augeri et 3 imperatorem mitti placebat; nec tam<sup>1</sup> quem mitterent satis constabat quam illud, ubi duo summi imperatores intra dies triginta cecidissent, qui in locum duorum succederet extraordinaria cura de- 4 ligendum esse. Cum alii alium nominarent, postremum eo decursum est ut proconsuli creando in Hispaniam comitia haberentur;<sup>2</sup> diemque comitiis consules

<sup>1</sup> tam *Gronovius*: tamen *P(1)JK Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> haberentur *Madvig*: haberet (*with* populus before proconsuli) *P(1)JK Aldus, Weissenborn*.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* to the Romans.

<sup>2</sup> Nero as praetor held a command of lower grade. He was succeeded by Silanus; xx. 4. Livy follows authorities who placed Scipio's election to the chief command and his departure for Spain in 211 B.C. and the capture of New Carthage in 210. In XXVII. vii. 5 f., however, he mentions the opposing view, which would give 210 and 209 respectively for these dates, the now accepted chronology. Cf. note *l.c.*

not suspected, excuse for that day was granted, and B.C. 211 forthwith Hasdrubal with his cavalry and elephants left camp, and without any noise escaped to a place of safety. At about the fourth hour the burning away of the fog by the sun cleared the air, and the Romans caught sight of the empty camp of the enemy. When Claudius, who until then did not recognize the Punic deception, perceived that he had been tricked, he pressed the pursuit of a departing enemy, he being all ready to engage in pitched battle. But the enemy refused to fight. And yet there were slight engagements between the rear of the Carthaginian column and the advance guard of the Romans.

XVIII. Meanwhile of the peoples of Spain none who had revolted after the disaster occurred were returning to the Romans, and at the same time no new nations were revolting.<sup>1</sup> And at Rome, after the recovery of Capua, senate and people were no longer more concerned about Italy than about Spain. They favoured an increase of the army and the sending of a commander-in-chief;<sup>2</sup> nor were they so well agreed whom to send, as they were on this point, that, where two great commanders had fallen within thirty days, there a successor to both must be chosen with unusual care. While some were naming one man, others another, finally they had recourse to the holding of an election to name a proconsul<sup>3</sup> for Spain; and the consuls announced a date for the

<sup>1</sup> To be so styled there was no requirement that a man should have been consul or even praetor; cf. XXIX. xiii. 7. Scipio's father and uncle had been consuls before they went out to Spain. For their fate cf. XXV. xxxiv. 11 ff.; xxxvi. 13 f.

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- 5 edixerunt. Primo exspectaverant ut qui se tanto imperio dignos crederent nomina profiterentur. Quae ut destituta exspectatio est, redintegratus luctus acceptae cladis desideriumque imperatorum amissorum.
- 6 Maesta itaque civitas, prope inops consilii, comitiorum die tamen in campum descendit; atque in magistratus versi circumspectant ora principum aliorum alios intuentium fremuntque adeo perditas res desperatumque de re publica esse ut nemo
- 7 audeat in Hispaniam imperium accipere, cum subito P. Cornelius, Publi Cornelii eius<sup>1</sup> qui in Hispania ceciderat filius, quattuor et viginti ferme annos natus, professus se petere, in superiore unde conspici
- 8 posset loco constitit. In quem postquam omnium ora conversa sunt, clamore ac favore ominati extemplo
- 9 sunt felix faustumque imperium. Iussi deinde inire suffragium ad unum omnes non centuriae modo, sed etiam homines P. Scipioni imperium esse in Hispania
- 10 iusserunt. Ceterum post rem actam, ut iam resederat impetus animorum ardorque, silentium subito ortum et tacita cogitatio quidnam egissent. Nonne<sup>2</sup>
- 11 favor plus valuisset quam ratio? Aetatis maxime paenitebat; quidam fortunam etiam domus horrebant nomenque ex funestis duabus familiis in eas provincias

<sup>1</sup> Publi Cornelii eius *Jac. Gronovius*: om. *P(1)*: P Cornelii *M<sup>2</sup>*: illius *ANJK Aldus*: Publi filius eius *Conway* (omitting filius below).

<sup>2</sup> Nonne *Madvig*: novi *P(1)J<sup>1</sup>K*: noni *J*.

<sup>1</sup> He had distinguished himself at seventeen in the battle of the Ticinus; XXI. xlv. 7 ff.; Polybius X. iii, 4 ff., who with a later date for his command in Spain makes him twenty-

election. At first people had waited for those who B.C. 211 thought themselves deserving of so important a command to hand in their names. When that hope was disappointed, grief for the disaster they had suffered was renewed, and regret for the lost generals.

And so the citizens mourned, being almost devoid of any plan; nevertheless on the election day they went down into the Campus. And turning towards the magistrates they scanned the faces of the leading men, who were looking at one and another of their number, and there were complaints that the situation was so desperate and hope for the state so given up that no man ventured to accept the command for Spain, when suddenly Publius Cornelius, son of that Publius Cornelius who had fallen in Spain, being about twenty-four years of age,<sup>1</sup> declared that he was a candidate, and took his place on higher ground from which he could be seen. All faces were turned towards him, and then by their shouts of approval they at once predicted a fortunate and auspicious command. Thereupon, bidden to cast their votes, not only all the centuries, but also every single man voted that Publius Scipio should have the command in Spain. But after the thing was done, now that impulsiveness and enthusiasm had subsided, there came a sudden silence and they thought to themselves, What had they done? Had not partiality outweighed reasoning? It was his youth that they especially regretted. Some also shrank from the destiny of the house, and from the name of one who was setting out from two afflicted families<sup>2</sup> for pro-

seven at this time (*l.c.* vi. 10). Cf. XXVII. vii. 5 and note. Of course this Scipio had had no normal advancement.

<sup>2</sup> But at least a year has elapsed.



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ubi inter sepulcra patris patruque res gerendae essent proficiscentis.

XIX. Quam<sup>1</sup> ubi ab re tanto impetu acta sollicitudinem curamque hominum animadvertit, advocata contione ita de aetate sua imperioque mandato et bello quod gerendum esset magno elatoque animo  
 2 disseruit, ut ardorem eum qui resederat excitaret rursus novaretque et<sup>2</sup> impleret homines certioris spei quam quantam fides promissi humani aut ratio  
 3 ex fiducia rerum subicere solet. Fuit enim Scipio non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab iuventa in ostentationem earum  
 4 compositus, pleraque apud multitudinem aut ut<sup>3</sup> per nocturnas visa<sup>4</sup> species aut velut divinitus mente monita agens, sive et ipse capti quadam superstitione animi, sive ut imperia consiliaque velut sorte oraculi  
 5 missa sine cunctatione exsequerentur. Ad hoc iam inde ab initio praeparans animos, ex quo togam virilem sumpsit, nullo die prius ullam publicam privatamque rem egit quam in Capitolium iret ingressusque aedem consideret et plerumque solus  
 6 in secreto ibi tempus tereret. Hic mos, quem<sup>5</sup> per omnem vitam servabat,<sup>6</sup> seu consulto seu temere volgatae opinioni fidem apud quosdam fecit stirpis  
 7 eum divinae virum esse, rettulitque famam in Alexandro Magno prius volgatam, et vanitate et

<sup>1</sup> Quam *MA<sup>9</sup> Aldus*: qua vi *PCR<sup>1</sup>*: qua *P<sup>2</sup>C<sup>2</sup>RM*: quod *AJKz*.

<sup>2</sup> et *AJK Aldus*: om. *P(3)*.

<sup>3</sup> ut *Duker, Weissenborn*: om. *P(1)JK*.

<sup>4</sup> visa *P(1)JK Eds., Conway*: visas *Fabri, Weissenborn, Luchs, Riemann*.

<sup>5</sup> quem *Weissenborn*: qui *Aldus*: om. *P(1)JK, Conway*.

<sup>6</sup> servabat *PCR*: servabatur *MBDAJKz Aldus*: servatus *C<sup>2</sup>x Gronovius, Conway*.

vinces where his campaign must be about the tombs *B.C. 211* of his father and his uncle.

XIX. When he noticed this anxiety and concern, following an action taken with such impulsiveness, Scipio called an assembly, and discoursed with such elevation of spirit on his age and the command entrusted to him and the war to be waged, that he again awakened and revived the ardour which had cooled, and filled men with a more assured hope than belief in a man's promise or reasoning based upon confidence of his success usually inspires. For Scipio was remarkable not only for his real abilities, but thanks to a certain skill also had from his youth adapted himself to their display, doing most of his actions before the public either as if they were prompted by visions in the night or inspired by the gods, whether because he also was possessed by a certain superstition, or in order that men might carry out without hesitation his commands and advice, as though emanating from an oracular response. More than that, preparing men's minds from the very beginning, from the time when he put on the manly gown, there was not a day on which he did any business public or private without going first to the Capitol, and after he had entered the temple, sitting down and usually passing the time there alone in seclusion.<sup>1</sup> This custom, which he maintained throughout his lifetime, confirmed in some men the belief, whether deliberately circulated or by chance, that he was a man of divine race. And it revived the tale previously told of Alexander the Great<sup>2</sup> and rivalling it as unfounded gossip, that his conception

<sup>1</sup> Before daylight according to Gellius VI (VII). i. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch *Alexander* ii. 4.

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- fabula parem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum, et in cubiculo matris eius visam persaepe prodigii eius speciem interventuque hominum evolutam  
 8 repente atque ex oculis elapsam. His miraculis numquam ab ipso elusa fides est; quin potius aucta arte quadam nec abnuendi tale quicquam nec palam  
 9 adfirmandi. Multa alia eiusdem generis, alia vera, alia adsimulata, admirationis humanae in eo iuvene excesserant modum; quibus freta tunc civitas aetati haudquaquam maturae tantam rerum molem tantumque imperium permisit.
- 10 Ad eas copias quas ex vetere exercitu Hispania habebat quaeque a Puteolis cum C. Nerone traiectae erant, decem milia militum et mille<sup>1</sup> equites adduntur; et M. Iunius Silanus propraetor adiutor ad res  
 11 gerendas datus est. Ita cum triginta navium classe—omnes autem quinqueremes erant—ostiis<sup>2</sup> Tiberinis profectus praeter oram Tusci maris, Alpesque . . . et<sup>3</sup> Gallicum sinum et deinde Pyrenaei circumvectus promunturium, Emporiis, urbe Graeca—oriundi et ipsi a Phocaea sunt—copias exposuit.
- 12 Inde sequi navibus iussis Tarraconem pedibus profectus conventum omnium sociorum—etenim legationes ad famam eius ex omni se provincia  
 13 effuderant—habuit. Naves ibi subduci iussit, remissis quattuor triremibus Massiliensium quae

<sup>1</sup> mille A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus: om. P(3), space being left in P for numeral (∞).

<sup>2</sup> ostiis PRM: hostiis CBDAJK: ab ostiis Wesenberg.

<sup>3</sup> -que et A<sup>1</sup>JK: neque P(3): -que C<sup>2</sup>M<sup>1</sup>? : atque Aldus. Here a gap in the text is suspected (Cr  vier) on account of et ipsi § 11 and triremibus Massiliensium § 13.

<sup>1</sup> Gellius l.c. 3. To the Roman mind the serpent would be the Genius of the house.

was due to an immense serpent, and that the form of B.O. 211 the strange creature had very often been seen in his mother's chamber, and that, when persons came in, it had suddenly glided away and disappeared from sight.<sup>1</sup> He himself never made light of men's belief in these marvels; on the contrary it was rather promoted by a certain studied practice of neither denying such a thing nor openly asserting it. Many other things of the same sort, some true, some pretended, had passed the limits of admiration for a mere man in the case of this youth. Such were the things on which the citizens relied when they then entrusted to an age far from mature the great responsibility of so important a command.

To the forces which Spain had from the old army, and those which had been transported under Gaius Nero from Puteoli, were added ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry. And Marcus Iunius Silanus, the propraetor, was assigned to aid in the conduct of the war. So with a fleet of thirty ships (and they were all quinqueremes<sup>2</sup>) Scipio set out from the mouth of the Tiber, sailed along the coast of the Tuscan Sea and past the Alps . . . and the Gallic Gulf, and then rounding the promontory of the Pyrenees, landed his troops at Emporiae, a Greek city, for they also<sup>3</sup> are sprung from Phocaea. Then ordering the ships to follow, and proceeding by land to Tarraco, he held an assembly of all the allies; for on hearing of his coming embassies had poured out from the entire province. There he ordered the ships to be beached, while he sent back four triremes of the Massilians

<sup>2</sup> On the quinquereme see Vol. VIII. p. 126, note.

<sup>3</sup> As well as the Massilians, whose city must have been mentioned in the lacuna.

14 officii causa ab domo prosecutae fuerant. Responsa inde legationibus suspensis varietate tot casuum dare coepit, ita elato ab ingenti virtutum suarum fiducia animo ut nullum ferox verbum excideret, ingensque omnibus quae diceret cum maiestas inesset tum fides.

XX. Profectus ab Tarracone et civitates sociorum et hiberna exercitus adiit, conlaudavitque milites quod duabus tantis deinceps cladibus icti provinciam  
2 obtinuissent, nec fructum secundarum rerum sentire hostis passi omni cis Hiberum agro eos arcuissent,  
3 sociosque cum fide tutati essent. Marcium secum habebat cum tanto honore ut facile appareret nihil minus vereri quam ne quis obstaret gloriae suae.  
4 Successit inde Neroni Silanus, et in hiberna milites novi deducti. Scipio omnibus quae adeunda agenda-  
5 que erant mature aditis peractisque Tarraconem concessit. Nihilo minor fama apud hostis Scipionis erat quam apud civis sociosque, et divinatio quaedam futuri, quo minus ratio timoris reddi poterat oborti  
6 temere, maiorem inferens metum. In hiberna diversi concesserant, Hasdrubal Gisgonis usque ad Oceanum et Gadis, Mago in mediterranea maxime supra Castulonensem saltum; Hasdrubal Hamilcaris filius proximus Hiberno circa Saguntum hibernavit.

<sup>1</sup> It is already the end of the season; cf. § 6.

<sup>2</sup> Recovered by the Scipios in 214 B.C. (XXIV. xlii. 9-10), but apparently again in Carthaginian hands. Polybius places the three Carthaginian armies somewhat differently (X. vii. 5).

which out of courtesy had escorted him from their home. Then he began to give answers to the embassies which were in suspense owing to the repeated changes of fortune, and that with high spirit indeed, due to his great faith in his own abilities, yet so that no over-confident word slipped from his lips, and that in all he said there was not only great dignity but also great sincerity.

XX. Setting out from Tarraco he visited cities of the allies and also winter quarters of the army,<sup>1</sup> and warmly praised the soldiers because, after suffering two such disasters in succession, they had held the province, and not allowing the enemy to feel any benefit from their successes, had kept them out of the whole region this side of the Ebro, and had loyally protected the allies. Marcian he kept by him in so much honour as to make it clear that he had not the least fear that anyone would stand in the way of his own fame. Then Silanus succeeded Nero, and the new soldiers were led into winter quarters. Scipio, having promptly visited all the necessary places and having done all that was to be done, retired to Tarraco. Not a whit less was Scipio's fame among the enemy than among citizens and allies, and there was a certain presentiment of the future, inspiring the greater fear in proportion as they were the less able to account for their unreasoned apprehension. They had withdrawn in different directions into winter quarters, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, as far as the Ocean and Gades, Mago into the interior, especially beyond the Forest of Castulo. Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, was the nearest to the Ebro in his winter quarters near Saguntum.<sup>2</sup>

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- 7 Aestatis eius extremo qua capta est Capua et  
 Scipio in Hispaniam venit Punica classis ex Sicilia  
 Tarentum accita ad arcendos commeatus praesidii  
 8 Romani quod in arce Tarentina erat, clauserat  
 quidem omnis ad arcem a mari aditus, sed adsidendo  
 diutius artiores annonas sociis quam hosti<sup>1</sup> facie-  
 9 bat. Non enim tantum subvehi oppidanis per  
 pacata litora apertosque portus praesidio navium  
 Punicarum poterat quantum frumenti classis ipsa  
 turba navali mixta ex omni genere hominum absu-  
 10 mebat, ut arcis praesidium etiam sine invecto, quia  
 pauci erant, ex ante praeparato sustentari posset,  
 Tarentinis classique ne invectum quidem sufficeret.  
 11 Tandem maiore gratia quam venerat classis dimissa  
 est; annona haud multum laxaverat,<sup>2</sup> quia remoto  
 maritimo praesidio subvehi frumentum non poterat.
- XXI. Eiusdem aestatis exitu M. Marcellus ex  
 Sicilia provincia cum ad urbem venisset, a C. Cal-  
 purnio praetore senatus ei ad aedem Bellonae datus  
 2 est. Ibi cum de rebus ab se gestis disseruisset,  
 questus leniter non suam magis quam militum  
 vicem quod provincia confecta exercitum deportare  
 non licuisset, postulavit ut triumphanti urbem inire  
 3 liceret. Id non impetravit. Cum multis verbis  
 actum esset utrum minus conveniret, cuius nomine

<sup>1</sup> hosti *M*<sup>1</sup>*AJK Aldus*: hostis *P*(3): hostibus *Alschefski*.<sup>2</sup> laxaverat *P*(1)*JK*: laxata est *conj. Luchs*.<sup>1</sup> Bomilcar, the admiral, was entreated by the Tarentines to sail away; Polybius IX. ix. 11.

At the end of the summer in which Capua was B.C. 211  
 taken and Scipio came to Spain a Carthaginian fleet  
 was summoned from Sicily to Tarentum to cut off  
 the supplies of the Roman garrison which was in the  
 citadel of Tarentum, and it had indeed closed every  
 approach to the citadel from the sea, but by lying  
 there for a long time it was making the grain supply  
 more limited for their allies than for the enemy. For  
 it was impossible for such a quantity of grain to be  
 brought to the townspeople by way of the peaceful  
 shores and open harbours, under the protection of  
 the Carthaginian ships, as the fleet itself was con-  
 suming, with its swarming crews, including men of  
 every race. The result was that, while the garrison  
 of the citadel, as being few in number, could be  
 supported from previous stores without importation,  
 for the Tarentines and the fleet even the imported  
 grain was insufficient. In the end the departure of  
 the fleet was more welcome than had been its  
 coming.<sup>1</sup> The scarcity had not been much relieved,  
 because, with the removal of naval protection, grain  
 could not be brought in.

XXI. At the end of the same summer, upon the  
 arrival of Marcus Marcellus at the city from his pro-  
 vince of Sicily, a session of the senate in the Temple  
 of Bellona was granted him by Gaius Calpurnius, the  
 praetor. There after speaking of his achievements  
 he complained gently, not more on his own account  
 than that of the soldiers, because even after com-  
 pleting his task in the province, he had not been  
 permitted to bring home his army, and he demanded  
 that he be permitted to enter the city in triumph.  
 That request was not granted. There was first a  
 wordy discussion whether it was more illogical

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absentis ob res prospere ductu eius gestas supplicatio decreta foret et dis immortalibus habitus honos, ei  
 4 praesenti negare triumphum, an quem tradere exercitum successor iussissent—quod nisi manente in provincia bello non<sup>1</sup> decerneretur—eum quasi debellato triumphare, cum exercitus testis meriti atque immeriti triumphi abesset, medium visum ut  
 5 ovans urbem iniret. Tribuni plebis ex auctoritate senatus ad populum tulerunt ut M. Marcello quo  
 6 die urbem ovans iniret imperium esset. Pridie quam urbem iniret in monte Albano triumphavit; inde ovans multam prae se praedam in urbem  
 7 intulit. Cum simulacro captarum Syracusarum catapultae ballistaeque et alia omnia instrumenta belli lata et pacis diuturnae regiaeque opulentiae ornamenta, argenti aerisque fabrefacti vis, alia supellex pretiosaeque vestis et multa nobilia signa, quibus  
 8 inter primas Graeciae urbes Syracusae ornatae fuerant. Punicae quoque victoriae signum octo ducti elephantum; et non minimum fuere<sup>2</sup> spectaculum cum coronis aureis praecedentes Sosis Syracusanus  
 10 et Moericus Hispanus, quorum altero duce<sup>3</sup> nocturno

<sup>1</sup> non A<sup>6</sup> Aldus: num P: om. P<sup>6</sup>(1)JKz: numquam conj. Weissenborn.

<sup>2</sup> fuere P(3)A<sup>7</sup> Aldus: fuit AJKz.

<sup>3</sup> duce C<sup>2</sup>A<sup>7</sup>JK Aldus: ducere PCR: ducente R<sup>2</sup>MBDA.

<sup>1</sup> On horseback, or even on foot, not in the triumphal chariot. For the ovation cf. e.g. XXXIX. xxix. 5; Plutarch *Marcellus* xxii. 2; Cassius Dio LIV. viii.; Dionysius V. xlvii.; Gellius V. vi. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXXIII. xxiii. 8; XLV. xxxviii. 4. This inferior form of triumph was often connected with the *ovatio*.

<sup>3</sup> Such representations of captured cities and towns were frequent features of triumphal processions. At the triumph of Lucius Scipio there were 134 *oppidorum simulacra*; XXXVII. lix. 3.

that he in whose name, though absent, a thanks-<sup>B.O. 211</sup> giving for successes gained under his command had been decreed and honour rendered to the gods, should be denied a triumph when present, or on the other hand that he whom they had ordered to turn over his army to a successor—a vote which was not taken except when a war still remained in the province—should triumph just as though the war were finished, and in spite of the absence of the army to witness his triumph as deserved or undeserved. Thereupon they adopted a compromise, that he should enter the city in an ovation.<sup>1</sup> The tribune of the plebs on the authority of the senate brought before the people the proposal that Marcus Marcellus should have full military power on the day on which he entered the city in an ovation. On the day before his entry into the city he triumphed on the Alban Mount.<sup>2</sup> Then in his ovation he caused a great amount of booty to be carried before him into the city. Together with a representation of captured Syracuse<sup>3</sup> were carried catapults and *ballistae* and all the other engines of war, and the adornments of a long peace and of royal wealth, a quantity of silverware and bronzeware, other furnishings and costly fabrics, and many notable statues, with which Syracuse had been adorned more highly than most cities of Greece. As a sign of triumph over Carthaginians as well, eight elephants were in the procession. And not the least spectacle, in advance of the general and wearing golden wreaths, were Sosis<sup>4</sup> of Syracuse and Moericus<sup>5</sup> the Spaniard.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxx. 6; xxxi. 4. Probably not the same Sosis as in XXIV. and XXV.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. XXV. xxx.

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- Syracusas introitum erat, alter Nasum quodque ibi  
 11 praesidii erat prodiderat. His ambobus civitas data  
 et quingena iugera agri, Sosidi in agro Syracusano,  
 qui aut regius aut hostium populi Romani fuisset, et  
 12 aedes Syracusis cuius vellet eorum in quos belli iure  
 animadversum esset; Moerico Hispanisque qui cum  
 eo transierant urbs agerque in Sicilia ex iis qui a  
 13 populo Romano defecissent, iussa dari. Id M.  
 Cornelio mandatum ut, ubi ei videretur, urbem  
 agrumque eis adsignaret. In eodem agro Belligeni,  
 per quem inlectus ad transitionem Moericus erat,  
 quadringenta iugera agri decreta.  
 14 Post profectionem ex Sicilia Marcelli Punica classis  
 octo milia peditum, tria Numidarum equitum exposuit.  
 Ad eos Murgentia et Ergetium urbes defecere.<sup>1</sup>  
 15 Secutae defectionem earum Hybla et Macella sunt  
 et<sup>2</sup> ignobiliores quaedam aliae. Et Numidae prae-  
 16 fecto Muttine vagi per totam Siciliam sociorum  
 populi Romani agros urebant. Super haec exercitus  
 Romanus iratus, partim quod cum imperatore non  
 devectus ex provincia esset, partim quod in oppidis  
 hibernare vetiti erant, segni fungebantur militia,  
 17 magisque eis auctor ad seditionem quam animus  
 deerat. Inter has difficultates M. Cornelius praetor  
 et militum animos nunc consolando nunc castigando

<sup>1</sup> -tia et Ergetium urbes defecere *Weissenborn*: -tiaeterre  
*P*, a line lost after er: -i(a)eterr(a)e (1)JK.

<sup>2</sup> sunt et z *Aldus*: et *PCRM*: sunt *AJK*: et *Weissenborn*:  
 om. *M<sup>o</sup>BC<sup>o</sup>*.

<sup>1</sup> Cethegus, who succeeded Marcellus in Sicily.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXV. xxx. 2, where no name is given.

<sup>3</sup> To share in the triumph of Marcellus. The remainder of  
 the sentence refers to the legions in disgrace; i. 10; ii. 14.

With one of them as guide at night Syracuse had been entered; the other had betrayed Nasus and the garrison there. To both of these citizenship was granted and five hundred *iugera* of land; to Sosis, in the territory of Syracuse, land which had either belonged to the king or to enemies of the Roman people, and a house at Syracuse, to be chosen by him from those owned by men whom they had punished by the law of war. To Moericus and the Spaniards who had changed sides with him a city and land in Sicily were ordered to be given, chosen from among those who had revolted from the Roman people. Instructions were given to Marcus Cornelius<sup>1</sup> to assign them a city and land wherever he saw fit. In the same region four hundred *iugera* of land were voted to Belligenes,<sup>2</sup> by whom Moericus had been induced to change sides.

After Marcellus' departure from Sicily a Carthaginian fleet landed eight thousand infantry and three thousand Numidian cavalry. To them the cities of Murgentia and Ergetium revolted. Their rebellion was followed by that of Hybla and Macella and some others of less importance. And the Numidians, roaming everywhere in Sicily under their prefect Muttines, burned over lands of allies of the Roman people. In addition the Roman army, being indignant, partly because it had not been transported out of the province along with its commander,<sup>3</sup> and partly because they had been forbidden to winter in towns, was serving without spirit. And what they lacked for a mutiny was a leader rather than the inclination. In the midst of these difficulties Marcus Cornelius, the praetor, quieted the soldiers' excitement, now by consoling, now by censuring them;

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sedavit, et civitates omnis quae defecerant in dicionem redegit; atque ex iis Murgentiam Hispanis quibus urbs agerque debebatur ex senatus consulto attribuit.

XXII. Consules cum ambo Apuliam provinciam haberent, minusque iam terroris a Poenis et Hannibale esset, sortiri iussi Apuliam Macedoniamque provincias. Sulpicio Macedonia evenit isque Laevino successit.

2 Fulvius Romam comitiorum causa arcessitus cum comitia consulibus rogandis haberet, praerogativa Voturia iuniorum T. Manlium Torquatum et T. 3 Otacilium absentem consules dixit.<sup>1</sup> Cum ad Manlium,<sup>2</sup> qui praesens erat, gratulandi causa turba coiret, nec dubius esset consensus populi, magna 4 circumfusus turba ad tribunal consulis venit, petitque ut pauca sua verba audiret centuriamque quae 5 tulisset suffragium revocari iuberet. Erectis omnibus exspectatione quidnam postulaturus esset, oculorum 6 valetudinem excusavit: impudentem et gubernatorem et imperatorem esse qui, cum alienis oculis ei omnia agenda sint, postulet sibi<sup>3</sup> aliorum capita 7 ac fortunas committi. Proinde, si videretur ei, redire in suffragium Voturiam iuniorum iuberet et meminisse in consulibus creandis belli quod in Italia 8 sit temporumque rei publicae. Vixdum requiesce auris a strepitu et tumultu hostili, quo paucos

<sup>1</sup> absentem consules dixit *Fabri*: om. *P(1)JK* in a lacuna of probably two lines.

<sup>2</sup> Cum ad Manlium *Weissenborn*: om. *P(1)JK*.

<sup>3</sup> sibi *K*: sibi post *P(1)J*: sibi potius *Gronovius*.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. by lot. Cf. the similar case in 215 B.C.; XXIV. vii. 12; ix. 3.

likewise he reduced to subjection all the city-states B.C. 211 which had revolted. And of these he assigned Murgentia to the Spaniards to whom a city with its territory was due in conformity with a decree of the senate.

XXII. Since both consuls had Apulia as their province, and there was now less alarm from the Carthaginians and Hannibal, they were ordered to cast lots for Apulia and Macedonia as their provinces. Macedonia fell to Sulpicius, and he succeeded Laevinus. Fulvius was summoned to Rome for the election, and while he was conducting the election for the choice of consuls, the century of the younger men of the Voturia tribe, having the right to vote first,<sup>1</sup> declared in favour of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Titus Otacilius as consuls, the latter being absent. When a crowd gathered before Manlius, who was present, in order to congratulate him, and the approval of the people was unquestioned, surrounded by a great crowd he came to the tribunal of the consul, begged him to hear a few words from him, and bade him recall the century which had cast its vote. While all were in suspense, waiting to know what he was going to demand, he gave the condition of his eyes as an excuse. Shameless, he said, was a pilot and a general too, who, though he must use other men's eyes for everything he did, demanded that the lives and fortunes of others be entrusted to him. Therefore, if Fulvius approved, let him order the Voturia century of the younger men to vote again, and in electing consuls to remember the war that was in Italy and the critical times for the state. Their ears had hardly yet had a respite from the noise and uproar of the enemy when

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- ante menses arserint<sup>1</sup> prope moenia Romana. Post haec cum centuria frequens succlamasset nihil se mutare sententiae eosdemque consules dicturos  
 9 esse, tum Torquatus "Neque ego vestros" inquit "mores consul ferre potero neque vos imperium meum. Redite in suffragium et cogitate bellum Punicum in Italia et hostium ducem Hannibalem  
 10 esse." Tum centuria et auctoritate mota viri et admirantium circa fremitu, petiit a consule ut  
 11 Voturiam seniorum citaret: velle sese cum maioribus natu conloqui et ex auctoritate eorum consules dicere. Citatis Voturiae senioribus, datum secreto  
 12 in Ovili cum iis conloquendi tempus. Seniores de tribus consulendum dixerunt esse, duobus pleniam honorum, Q. Fabio et M. Marcello, et si utique novum aliquem adversus Poenos consulem creari vellent, M. Valerio Laevino: egregie adversus  
 13 Philippum regem terra marique rem gessisse. Ita de tribus consultatione data, senioribus dimissis iuniores suffragium ineunt. M.<sup>2</sup> Claudium, fulgentem tum Sicilia domita, et M. Valerium absentis consules dixerunt. Auctoritatem praerogativae omnes centu-  
 14 riae secutae sunt. Eludant nunc antiqua mirantis: non equidem, si qua sit sapientium civitas, quam

<sup>1</sup> arserint *Alschefski*: asserint *P(1)*: cesserint *M<sup>1</sup> Madvig, Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> M., here *P(1)J Aldus* insert *Marcellus* or -um: *K* has normal order of the three names.

<sup>1</sup> The corresponding century of the same first class.

<sup>2</sup> A large enclosed area in the Campus Martius for election purposes. Ovile, its older name, gave way in general use to that of Saepia. Agrippa erected there a huge building, the Saepia Iulia, completed in 26 B.C.; Cassius Dio *LIII. xxiii.*

the city of Rome had been all but ablaze a few B.C. 211 months before. After these words the whole century cried out that they refused to make any change in opinion, and would vote for the same men as consuls. Thereupon Torquatus said: "Neither shall I as consul be able to put up with your manners, nor will you with my authority. Vote again, and reflect that a Punic war is in Italy and the commander of the enemy Hannibal." Then the century, moved by the prestige of the man and the expressions of admiration on all sides, begged the consul to summon the Voturia century of the older men.<sup>1</sup> They wished, they said, to confer with their elders and on their authority to name consuls. When the older men of the Voturia had been summoned, time for a secret conference with them was granted in the Sheepfold.<sup>2</sup> The elders said that they must deliberate in regard to three men, two of them already full of honours, Quintus Fabius and Marcus Marcellus, and if they were quite decided to elect some new man as consul to face the Carthaginians, Marcus Valerius Laevinus; that he had carried on the war brilliantly against King Philip on land and sea. So after deliberation in regard to the three men had been allowed, the elders were sent away, and the younger men cast their vote. They voted for Marcus Claudius, at that time resplendent in the light of his conquest of Sicily, and Marcus Valerius as consuls, both being absent. The authority of the leading century was followed by all the rest. Let men now make sport of those who admire what is old.<sup>3</sup> For my part, if there should be a city-state of sages, such as philosophers imagine rather than

<sup>3</sup> Cf. VI. xli. 8.



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docti fingunt magis quam norunt, aut principes  
graviorēs temperantioresque<sup>1</sup> a cupidine imperii  
aut multitudinem melius moratam censeam fieri  
15 posse. Centuriam vero iuniorum seniores consu-  
lere voluisse quibus imperium suffragio mandaret,  
vix ut veri simile sit parentum quoque hoc saeculo  
vilis levisque apud liberos auctoritas fecit.

XXIII. Praetoria inde comitia habita. P. Manlius  
Volso<sup>2</sup> et L. Manlius Acidinus et C. Laetorius et L.  
2 Cincius Alimentus creati sunt. Forte ita incidit  
ut comitiis perfectis nuntiaretur T. Otacilius, quem  
T. Manlio, nisi interpellatus ordo comitiorum esset,  
conlegam absentem daturus fuisse videbatur populus,  
3 mortuum in Sicilia esse. Ludi Apollinares et priore  
anno fuerant et eo anno ut fierent referente Calpurnio  
praetore, senatus decrevit ut in perpetuum voveren-  
4 tur. Eodem anno prodigia aliquot visa nuntiataque  
sunt. In aede Concordiae Victoria quae in culmine  
erat fulmine icta decussa ad Victorias quae in  
5 antefixis erant haesit neque inde procidit. Et  
Anagninae<sup>3</sup> et Fregellis nuntiatum est murum  
portasque de caelo tactas,<sup>4</sup> et in foro Subertano  
sanguinis rivos per diem totum fluxisse, et Ereti  
lapidibus pluvisse, et Reate mulam peperisse.

<sup>1</sup> temperantioresque *B<sup>2</sup>J Sigonius*: -atioresque *P(1)K*.

<sup>2</sup> Volso *Aldus*: Vulso *Sigonius*: valens *P(1)JKz*.

<sup>3</sup> Anagninae *C Aldus*: angnia *P*: anagnia *P<sup>1</sup>(3)*.

<sup>4</sup> tactas *P<sup>2</sup>(1)JK(-tus D) Aldus*: tacta *P*.

<sup>1</sup> The annalist; XXI. xxxviii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> At the upper end of the Forum, built after 367 B.C.  
Another temple in the citadel had been dedicated in 216 B.C.;  
XXIII. xxi. 7.

actually know, I am inclined to think that neither B.C. 211  
could leading men possibly be of more solid worth and  
more self-controlled as regards the lust for power,  
nor could the populace show a higher character. But  
that a century of the younger men wished to confer  
with their elders on the question to which persons  
they should, by their vote, entrust a high command,  
should seem to us scarcely credible—this is due to  
the cheapened and diminished authority even of  
parents over their children in our day.

XXIII. Then an election for the praetorships was  
held. Publius Manlius Volso and Lucius Manlius  
Acidinus and Gaius Laetorius and Lucius Cincius  
Alimentus<sup>1</sup> were elected. It was after the election,  
as it happened, that news came of the death in  
Sicily of Titus Otacilius, whom the people in his  
absence would, it seemed, have given as a colleague  
to Titus Manlius, if the course of the election had not  
been interrupted. The festival of Apollo had been  
observed in the previous year, and in order that it  
might be observed in this year also, the senate, on  
motion of Calpurnius, the praetor, decreed that it be  
vowed as a permanency. In the same year a num-  
ber of prodigies were seen and reported. At the  
Temple of Concord<sup>2</sup> a Victory which stood on the  
pediment was struck by lightning, and being dis-  
lodged, it caught upon the Victories which were  
among the antefixes and did not fall farther. And  
at Anagnia and at Fregellae the wall and gates  
were reported to have been struck by lightning;  
and that at Forum Subertanum there had been  
streams of blood for a whole day; and that at  
Eretum there was a shower of stones; and that at  
Reate a mule had foaled. These prodigies were

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6 Ea prodigia hostiis maioribus sunt procurata, et obsecratio in unum diem populo indicta et novemdiale sacrum. Sacerdotes publici aliquot eo anno de-  
7 mortui sunt novique suffecti: in locum M'. Aemili Numidae decemviri sacrorum M. Aemilius Lepidus, in locum M. Pomponi Mathonis pontificis C. Livius,  
8 in locum Sp. Carvili Maximi auguris M. Servilius. T. Otacilius Crassus pontifex quia exacto anno mortuus erat, ideo nominatio in locum eius non est facta. C. Claudius flamen Dialis, quod exta perperam dederat, flamonio abiit.

XXIV. Per idem tempus M. Valerius Laevinus, temptatis prius per secreta colloquia principum animis, ad indictum ante ad id ipsum concilium  
2 Aetolorum classe expedita venit. Ubi cum Syracusas Capuamque captam<sup>1</sup> in fidem in Italia Sicilia-  
3 que<sup>2</sup> rerum secundarum ostentasset, adiecissetque iam inde a maioribus traditum morem Romanis colendi socios, ex quibus alios in civitatem atque aequum secum ius acceperant, alios in ea fortuna  
4 haberent ut socii esse quam cives mallent; Aetolos eo in maiore futuros honore quod gentium trans-  
5 marinarum in amicitiam primi venissent; Philippum eis et Macedonas gravis accolae esse, quorum se vim ac spiritus et iam fregisse et eo redacturum

<sup>1</sup> captam P(1): capitam N: captas A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: itas N<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Italia Siciliaque Alschevski: italiaque P(3)A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus: Sicilia Italiaque A<sup>1</sup> Gronovius.

<sup>1</sup> The regular method of expiation when a shower of stones had been reported; XXI. lxii. 6; XXIII. xxxi. 15; XXV. vii. 9; XXVII. xxxvii. 4.

atoned for with full-grown victims, and a single day B.C. 211 of prayer was proclaimed to the people and nine days of ceremonies.<sup>1</sup> A number of public priests died that year, and new priests were appointed; in place of Manius Aemilius Numida, a decemvir in charge of rites, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was appointed, in place of Marcus Pomponius Matho, a pontifex, Gaius Livius, in place of Spurius Carvilius Maximus, an augur, Marcus Servilius. Since Titus Otacilius Crassus, a pontifex, had died at the end of the year, no one was named to take his place. Gaius Claudius, flamen of Jupiter, abdicated his office because of an error in his placing the entrails.

XXIV. About the same time Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had previously sounded the leading men in secret conferences, came on a swift sailing fleet to a council of the Aetolians already appointed for that very purpose. There he first set before them the capture of Syracuse and Capua, to convince them of success in Italy and Sicily, and in addition referred to the customary good treatment of allies as handed down to the Romans by their ancestors. Some of the allies, he said, they had admitted to citizenship and to the same rights as themselves, others they kept in so favoured a situation that they preferred to be allies rather than citizens; the Aetolians would be held in all the higher honour inasmuch as they had been the first of the peoples across the sea to enter their friendship; <sup>2</sup> Philip and the Macedonians were their oppressive neighbours, whose might and over-confidence he had already

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy Philadelphus sent an embassy to Rome about 273 B.C., but friendly relations were not followed by any formal alliance, as stated in *Periocha* 14.

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esse ut non iis modo urbibus quas per vim ad-  
 missent<sup>1</sup> Aetolis excedant, sed ipsam Macedoniam  
 6 infestam habeant; et Acarnanas, quos aegre ferrent  
 Aetoli a corpore suo diremptos, restitutum se in  
 7 antiquam formulam iurisque ac dicionis eorum;—  
 haec dicta promissaque a Romano imperatore Scopas,  
 qui tum praetor gentis erat, et Dorimachus, princeps  
 Aetolorum, adfirmaverunt auctoritate sua, minore  
 cum verecundia et maiore cum fide vim maiestatem-  
 8 que populi Romani extollentes. Maxime tamen  
 spes potiundae movebat Acarnaniae. Igitur con-  
 scriptae condiciones quibus in amicitiam societatem-  
 9 que populi Romani venirent; additumque ut, si  
 placeret vellentque, eodem iure amicitiae Elei  
 Lacedaemoniique et Attalus et Pleuratus et Scerdilaedus essent, Asiae Attalus, hi Thracum et Illyriorum  
 10 reges; bellum ut extemplo Aetoli cum Philippo terra  
 gererent; navibus ne minus viginti quinque quinque-  
 11 remibus adiuveret Romanus; urbium Corcyrae tenus  
 ab Aetolia incipienti solum tectaque et muri cum  
 agris Aetolorum, alia omnis praeda populi Romani  
 esset, darentque operam Romani ut Acarnaniam  
 12 Aetoli haberent; si Aetoli pacem cum Philippo  
 facerent, foederi adscriberent ita ratam fore<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> admissent *Aldus*: admisset *P(1)JKz Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> fore *Muretus (x?)*: eorum *P(1)JK Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. *σπαρτηγός*.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning the cities in Acarnania and a large part of Epirus.

broken and would further reduce to such a pass that B.C. 211  
 they would not only retire from the cities which they  
 had forcibly taken from the Aetolians, but also  
 would find Macedonia itself continually endangered.  
 And as for the Acarnanians, whose forcible separa-  
 tion from their federation the Aetolians resented,  
 he said he would restore them to the old written  
 basis, establishing both the rights and the supremacy  
 of the Aetolians. These statements and promises  
 by the Roman general were confirmed by the  
 authority of Scopas, then magistrate<sup>1</sup> of the tribe,  
 and of Dorimachus, a leading man of the Aetolians;  
 while extolling the might and majesty of the Roman  
 people they used less restraint and brought more  
 conviction. But most effective was the hope of  
 getting possession of Acarnania. Accordingly the  
 terms were written down under which they should  
 enter friendship and alliance with the Roman people;  
 furthermore that, if so disposed and willing, the  
 Eleans and Lacedaemonians and Attalus and Pleura-  
 tus and Scerdilaedus should have the same rights of  
 friendship, Attalus being king of Asia and the last  
 mentioned kings of the Thracians and Illyrians;  
 that the Aetolians should at once wage war against  
 Philip by land; that the Roman should assist  
 with a fleet having not less than twenty-five quin-  
 queremes; that, of the cities between the Aetolian  
 border and Corcyra<sup>2</sup> the soil and buildings and city-  
 walls, together with their territory, should belong to  
 the Aetolians, all the rest of the booty to the Roman  
 people; and that the Romans were to see to it  
 that the Aetolians should have Acarnania. If the  
 Aetolians should make peace with Philip they were  
 to append to the treaty that the peace would be

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- pacem si Philippus arma ab Romanis sociisque  
 13 quique eorum dicionis essent abstinuisset; item si  
 populus Romanus foedere iungeretur regi, ut caveret  
 ne ius ei belli inferendi Aetolis sociisque eorum  
 14 esset. Haec convenerunt, conscriptaque biennio  
 post Olympiae ab Aetolis, in Capitolio ab Romanis,  
 ut testata sacratis monumentis essent, sunt posita.  
 15 Morae causa fuerant retenti Romae diutius legati  
 Aetolorum; nec tamen impedimento id rebus ge-  
 rendis fuit. Et Aetoli extemplo moverunt adversus  
 Philippum bellum, et Laevinus Zacynthum—parva  
 insula est propinqua Aetoliae; urbem unam eodem  
 quo ipsa est nomine habet; eam praeter arcem vi  
 cepit—et Oeniadas Nasumque Acarnanum captas  
 16 Aetolis contribuit; Philippum quoque<sup>1</sup> satis impli-  
 catum bello finitimo ratus, ne Italiam Poenosque et  
 pacta cum Hannibale posset respicere, Corcyram ipse  
 se recepit.

XXV. Philippo Aetolorum defectio Pellae hiber-  
 nanti adlata est. Itaque quia primo vere moturus  
 2 exercitum in Graeciam erat, ut<sup>2</sup> Illyrios finitimasque  
 eis urbes ab tergo metu quietas<sup>3</sup> Macedonia haberet,  
 expeditionem subitam in Oricinorum atque Apollonia-  
 tium fines fecit, egressosque Apolloniatas cum magno  
 3 terrore ac pavore compulit intra muros. Vastatis

<sup>1</sup> quoque *P(1)(JK: -que Weissenborn.*

<sup>2</sup> ut *Alschefski: om. P(1).*

<sup>3</sup> quietas *P(3) Alschefski: quietas ut ANJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>1</sup> Set up in temples, as was usual among Greeks and Romans.

<sup>2</sup> Breaking a treaty made with him six years before.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXIV. xl.

valid only in case Philip should refrain from war B.O. 311  
 with the Romans and their allies and those who  
 were subject to the latter. In like manner, if  
 the Roman people should make a treaty with the  
 king, they should take care that he have no right  
 to invade the land of the Aetolians and their  
 allies. These terms were agreed upon, and not  
 until two years later were the texts set up, at  
 Olympia by the Aetolians, on the Capitol by the  
 Romans, that they might be attested by consecrated  
 records.<sup>1</sup> The reason for the delay had been the  
 retention of the Aetolian envoys for a long time  
 at Rome. And yet that did not hinder active  
 measures. On the one hand the Aetolians at once  
 began the war against Philip, on the other Laevinus  
 captured Zacynthus. This is a small island, near  
 Aetolia, and has one city of the same name as the  
 island itself; that city he took by storm, except  
 for its citadel. And after capturing Oeniadae and  
 Nasus, belonging to the Acarnanians, he annexed  
 them to Aetolia. Thinking that Philip also was  
 sufficiently involved in a war with neighbours to  
 prevent him from having any possible thought of  
 Italy and the Carthaginians and treaties with  
 Hannibal, he himself retired to Corcyra.

XXV. As Philip was wintering at Pella, the  
 estrangement of the Aetolians<sup>2</sup> was reported to him.  
 Accordingly, because he intended at the beginning of  
 spring to move his army into Greece, in order that  
 Macedonia should keep the Illyrians in her rear and  
 the cities near them intimidated, he made a sudden  
 incursion into the territories of Oricum and Apol-  
 lonia,<sup>3</sup> and when the Apollonians came out of their  
 city, he drove them inside their walls, causing great

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- proximis Illyrici in Pelagoniam eadem celeritate  
vertit iter; inde Dardanorum urbem Sintiam, in  
Macedoniam transitum Dardanis facturam, cepit.  
4 His raptim actis, memor Aetolici iunctique cum eo  
Romani belli per Pelagoniam et Lyncum et Bottiaeam  
5 in Thessaliam descendit—ad bellum secum adversus  
Aetolos capessendum incitari posse homines credebat  
—et relicto ad fauces Thessaliae Perseo cum quattuor  
6 milibus armatorum ad arcendos aditu Aetolos, ipse,  
priusquam maioribus occuparetur rebus, in Mace-  
doniam atque inde in Thraciam exercitum ac Maedos  
7 duxit. Incurrere ea gens in Macedoniam solita  
erat, ubi regem occupatum externo bello ac sine  
8 praesidio esse regnum sensisset. Ad frangendas  
igitur vires<sup>1</sup> gentis simul<sup>2</sup> vastare agros et urbem  
Iamphorynnam, caput arcemque Maedicae, op-  
9 pugnare coepit. Scopas ubi profectum in Thraciam  
regem occupatumque ibi bello audivit, armata omni  
iuventute Aetolorum bellum inferre Acarnaniae  
10 parat. Adversus quos Acarnanum gens, et viribus  
impar et iam Oeniadas Nasumque amissa<sup>3</sup> cernens  
Romanaque insuper arma ingruere, ira magis instruit  
11 quam consilio bellum. Coniugibus liberisque et  
senioribus super sexaginta annos in propinquam  
Epirum missis, ab quindecim ad sexaginta annos

<sup>1</sup> vires *C<sup>4</sup> Madvig: om. P(1)JK Aldus, Froben.*<sup>2</sup> gentis simul *Conway: om. P(1) etc.; one line has been lost.*<sup>3</sup> amissa *P Madvig, Conway (without remark): -sas Gronovius, Weissenborn.*<sup>1</sup> A high mountain region between the upper Penſus and the Aoſis rivers.<sup>2</sup> No doubt through the Vale of Tempe.

panic and alarm. After ravaging the nearest parts B.C. 211  
of Illyricum, he changed the direction of his march  
with the same speed into Pelagonia. Then he cap-  
tured a city of the Dardanians, Sintia, as likely to  
afford a passage for the Dardanians into Macedonia.  
So much having been done in haste, mindful of the  
Aetolian war and the Roman war combined with it,  
he came down through Pelagonia and Lyncus<sup>1</sup> and  
Bottiaea into Thessaly,<sup>2</sup> believing that men could be  
aroused to join him in undertaking a war against the  
Aetolians, and leaving Perseus at the pass into  
Thessaly<sup>3</sup> with four thousand armed men, to prevent  
the Aetolians from entering, he led his army, before  
he should be engaged in more important matters,  
into Macedonia and thence into Thrace and against  
the Maedi. That tribe had been in the habit of  
making raids into Macedonia, whenever it knew that  
the king was engaged in a foreign war and the king-  
dom unprotected. Therefore to break its power he  
began at the same time to lay waste the country and  
to besiege the city of Iamphorynna, the capital and  
citadel of Maedica. Scopas, on learning that the  
king had gone into Thrace and was there occupied  
with a war, armed all the young men among the  
Aetolians and prepared to invade Acarnania.  
Against these the Acarnanian tribe, inferior in  
strength, and at the same time seeing Oeniadae and  
Nasus lost and a war with Rome impending in  
addition, prepared for war out of resentment rather  
than calculation. Sending away wives and children  
and the older men above sixty years to the nearest  
part of Epirus, from fifteen years of age up to sixty

<sup>1</sup> *I.e. from the south via Thermopylae; XXVIII. v. 8; XXXVI. xv. 6 ff.*

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- 12 coniurant nisi victores se non redituros: qui victus  
acie excessisset, eum ne quis urbe, tecto, mensa, lare  
reciperet, diram execrationem in popularis, obtesta-  
tionem quam sanctissimam potuerunt adversus  
13 hospites composuerunt; precatique simul Epirotas  
sunt ut, qui suorum in acie cecidissent, eos uno  
tumulo contegerent, adfigerentque<sup>1</sup> humatis titu-  
14 lum: "Hic siti sunt Acarnanes, qui adversus vim  
atque iniuriam Aetolorum pro patria pugnantes  
15 mortem occubuerunt."<sup>2</sup> Per haec incitatis animis  
castra in extremis finibus suis obvia hosti posuerunt.  
Nuntiis ad Philippum missis, quanto res in discrimine  
esset, omittere Philippum id quod in manibus erat  
coegerunt bellum, Iamphorynna per deditionem  
16 recepta et prospero alio successu rerum. Aetolorum  
impetum tardaverat primo coniurationis fama Acarna-  
nicae; deinde auditus Philippi adventus regredi  
17 etiam in intimos coegit fines. Nec Philippus,  
quamquam, ne opprimerentur Acarnanes, itineribus  
magnis ierat, ultra Dium est progressus. Inde, cum  
audisset reditum Aetolorum ex Acarnania, et ipse  
Pellam rediit.

XXVI. Laevinus veris principio a Corcyra pro-  
fectus navibus superato Leucata promunturio cum  
venisset Naupactum, Anticyram inde se petiturum  
edixit, ut praesto ibi Scopas Aetolique essent.

<sup>1</sup> adfigerentque *Madvig*: -liberentque *PRM*: -hiberentque  
*CM*<sup>2</sup>*BD**AJK Aldus*: -icerentque *Weissenborn, Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> occubuerunt *P(3) Aldus*: oppetierunt *AJKz*.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the Epirotas.

<sup>2</sup> Dium, at the foot of Mt. Olympus, was a strong city,  
commanding both the coast road into Macedonia from

they took an oath that they would not return except B.C. 211  
as victors; should any man come out of the battle  
defeated, they drew up a dreadful curse upon their  
countrymen, a most solemn adjuration addressed to  
their hosts:<sup>1</sup> that no one should receive that man  
into the city, into his house, to his table, to his  
hearth. And at the same time they besought the  
Epirotas to cover under one mound all of their  
men who were to fall in battle, and to set up this  
inscription for those they had buried: "Here lie  
the Acarnanians who, fighting for their country  
against the violence and injustice of the Aetolians,  
have met their death." Having aroused their  
spirits by these means, they pitched camp facing  
the enemy at their very frontier. Sending mes-  
sengers to Philip to inform him how great was  
the danger, they compelled him to give up the  
war which he had on hand, after the surrender of  
Iamphorynna and in spite of his other successes.  
The Aetolians' attack was delayed at first by the  
report of the oath of the Acarnanians, and then news  
of Philip's approach forced them to retire far back  
into the interior. And Philip, although he had been  
making forced marches to prevent the Acarnanians  
from being overpowered, did not advance beyond  
Dium.<sup>2</sup> Thence, on hearing that the Aetolians had  
returned from Acarnania, he too returned to Pella.

XXVI. Laevinus at the beginning of spring set out  
by ship from Corcyra, rounded the promontory of  
Leucata, and on reaching Naupactus, made it known  
by an edict that he would proceed to Anticyra, and  
that Scopas and the Aetolians should meet him there.

Thessaly and a road leading down from the pass northwest of  
the mountain.

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2 Sita Anticyra est in Locride<sup>1</sup> laeva parte sinum  
3 Corinthiacum intranti; breve terra iter eo, brevis  
navigatio ab Naupacto est. Tertio ferme post die  
utrimque oppugnari coepta est. Gravior a mari  
oppugnatio erat, quia et tormenta machinaeque  
omnis generis in navibus erant, et Romani inde op-  
pugnabant. Itaque intra paucos dies recepta urbs per  
deditionem Aetolis traditur, praeda ex pacto Romanis  
4 cessit. Litterae interea Laevino redditae consulem  
eum absentem declaratum, et successorem venire  
P. Sulpicium; ceterum diuturno ibi morbo implicitus  
serius spe omnium Romam venit.

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5 M. Marcellus cum idibus Martiis consulatum  
inisset, senatum eo die moris modo causa habuit,  
professus nihil se absente conlega neque de re publica  
6 neque de provinciis acturum. Scire se frequentis  
Siculos prope urbem in villis obtrectatorum suorum  
esse; quibus tantum abesse ut per se non liceat  
7 palam Romae crimina edita<sup>2</sup> ab inimicis volgare, ut,  
ni simularent aliquem sibi timorem absente conlega  
dicendi de consule esse, ipse eis extemplo daturus  
senatum fuerit. Ubi quidem conlega venisset, non  
passurum quicquam prius agi quam ut Siculi in

<sup>1</sup> Locride z: locide P: same or loci de (3)B<sup>3</sup>JKx: Phocide Cellarius.

<sup>2</sup> edita Madvig, Emend.: edita ficta P(3)A<sup>4</sup>: edicta ficta BD: edicta facta AJKx: edita fictaque z Aldus: ficta Ussing.

<sup>1</sup> The stronghold of Anticyra in Locris, only 20 miles east of the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth, is less well known than the city of the same name in Phocis, ca. 40 miles farther (by the

Anticyra is situated in Locris, on the left as one B.C. 211 enters the Gulf of Corinth.<sup>1</sup> It is a short journey by land, a short sail thither from Naupactus. About two days later the siege began from both sides. More serious was the attack from the sea, because the artillery and engines of all kinds were on the ships, also because it was the Romans who were besieging from that side. And so within a few days the city surrendered and was turned over to the Aetolians, while the booty fell to the Romans in accordance with the agreement. A letter was delivered meanwhile to Laevinus informing him that in his absence he had been declared consul, and that his successor, Publius Sulpicius, was on the way. But contracting a long illness there, he came to Rome later than anyone had anticipated.

Marcus Marcellus, having entered upon his con- B.C. 210 sulship on the Ides of March, held a session of the senate on that day merely as a matter of custom, declaring that in the absence of his colleague he would do nothing concerning either the state or the provinces. He knew, he said, that a large number of Sicilians were near the city at the country-places of his detractors; that so far was it from being true that these men were not permitted by him to noise abroad openly at Rome the charges emanating from his personal foes, that he would himself immediately have given them a hearing in the senate but for their pretending no little fear to speak of the consul in the absence of his colleague. When indeed his colleague should arrive, he said, he would not allow any business to be taken up prior to the question of road) to the east. Cf. W. A. Oldfather in Pauly-Wissowa, Lokris, 1226.

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- 8 senatum introducuntur. Dilectum prope a M. Cornelio per totam Siciliam habitum, ut quam plurimi questum de se Romam venirent; eundem litteris falsis urbem inplesse, bellum in Sicilia esse, 9 ut suam laudem minuat. Moderati animi gloriam eo die adeptus consul senatum dimisit; ac prope iustitium omnium rerum futurum videbatur donec alter consul ad urbem venisset.
- 10 Otium, ut solet, excitavit plebis rumores: belli diuturnitatem<sup>1</sup> et vastatos agros circa urbem, qua infesto agmine isset Hannibal, exhaustam dilectibus Italiam et prope<sup>2</sup> quotannis<sup>3</sup> caesos exercitus quere- 11 bantur, et consules bellicosos ambo viros acresque nimis et feroces creatos qui vel in pace tranquilla bellum excitare possent, nedum in bello respirare civitatem forent passuri.

XXVII. Interrupit hos sermones nocte quae pridie Quinquatrus fuit pluribus simul locis circa forum incendium ortum. Eodem tempore septem tabernae quae postea quinque, et argentariae quae nunc novae 3 appellantur, arsere; comprehensa postea privata aedificia—neque enim tum basilicae erant—, comprehensae lautumiae forumque piscatorium et atrium

<sup>1</sup> diuturnitatem *A*<sup>2</sup>*x*: -tate *P*(1)*JK Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> prope *Gronovius*: pro re *P*(1)*Jz*: per te *K*: pro rep. *Aldus*.

<sup>3</sup> quotannis *Gronovius*: quodannis *P*: quod cannis *P*<sup>2</sup>(3) (cannensis *AJKz*): cannis *Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxi. 13, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Chief festival of Minerva, 19th to 23rd of March. Cf. Festus pp. 304, 306 L; Ovid *Fasti* III. 809 ff. and Frazer's note.

<sup>3</sup> The rows of shops on opposite sides of the Forum were public property, but leased to tenants, chiefly bankers and money-changers. The New Shops were on the north side.

bringing the Sicilians before the senate. It was B.C. 210 almost a levy that Marcus Cornelius<sup>1</sup> had conducted all over Sicily, in order that as many as possible might come to Rome to complain of himself. He added that Cornelius had also filled the city with letters falsely stating that there was a war in Sicily, in order to detract from the praise of the speaker. After winning a reputation for moderation on that day, the consul dismissed the senate. And it seemed that public business would be almost at a standstill until the other consul should come to the city.

Inaction, as usual, stirred up talk among the common people. They kept complaining of the duration of the war and of the devastation of farms around the city, wherever Hannibal had passed with his hostile army; of the draining of Italy by levies, and of the armies cut to pieces almost every year; and of the election to both consulships of men of war, with an excess of spirit and confidence, who even in unruffled peace were capable of stirring up war, and were still less likely in time of war to allow the state a breathing-spell.

XXVII. Such utterances were interrupted on the night before the Quinquatrus<sup>2</sup> by a fire which broke out in several places at once about the Forum. At the same time the seven shops which later were five, and the bankers' offices, now called Tabernae Novae, caught fire;<sup>3</sup> then private houses took fire—for there were no basilicas then,—the quarter of the Quarries<sup>4</sup> took fire, and the Fish Market and the

<sup>4</sup> The Lautumiae were near the Carcer, west of the Comitium.



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4 regium. Aedis<sup>1</sup> Vestae vix defensa est tredecim  
maxime servorum opera, qui in publicum redempti  
5 ac manu missi sunt. Nocte ac die continuatum  
incendium fuit, nec ulli dubium erat humana id fraude  
factum esse, quod pluribus simul locis, et iis diversis,  
6 ignes coorti essent. Itaque consul ex auctoritate  
senatus pro contione edixit qui, quorum opera id  
conflatum<sup>2</sup> incendium, profiteretur, praemium fore  
7 libero pecuniam, servo libertatem. Eo praemio  
inductus Campanorum Calaviorum servus—Manus  
ei nomen erat—indicavit dominos et quinque prae-  
terea iuvenes nobiles Campanos quorum parentes a  
Q. Fulvio securi percussi erant id incendium fecisse,  
8 volgoque facturos alia, ni comprehendantur.<sup>3</sup> Con-  
prehensi ipsi familiaeque eorum. Et primo eleva-  
batur index indiciumque: pridie eum verberibus  
castigatum ab dominis discessisse; per iram ac  
9 levitatem ex re fortuita crimen commentum. Ce-  
terum ut coram coarguebantur, et quaestio ex mini-  
stris facinoris foro medio haberi coepta est, fassi  
omnes, atque in dominos servosque conscios animad-  
versum est; indici libertas data et viginti milia aeris.  
10 Consuli Laevino Capuam praetereunti circumfusa  
multitudo Campanorum est obsecrantium cum lacri-  
mis ut sibi Romam ad senatum ire liceret oratum,  
si qua misericordia tandem flecti possent, ne se ad

<sup>1</sup> Aedis PC: -des RMBDAJK.<sup>2</sup> conflatum, here perhaps esset has been omitted (inserted by Madvig after incendium).<sup>3</sup> -prendantur P<sup>2</sup>(3): -prehendantur BDAJK.<sup>1</sup> For contracts to rebuild this House of the Vestals and the Macellum cf. XXVII. xi. 16.<sup>2</sup> Under torture, as being slaves.

Atrium Regium.<sup>1</sup> The Temple of Vesta was saved B.C. 210  
with difficulty chiefly by the aid of thirteen slaves,  
who were purchased by the state and manumitted.  
The fire held on night and day, and no one doubted  
that it was the work of incendiaries, since the flames  
had burst out in several places at once, and places not  
adjacent at that. Accordingly the consul on the  
authority of the senate declared before an assembly  
that any man who made known through whose action  
the fire had been kindled should have, if a freeman,  
money as his reward, if a slave, his freedom. Led by  
that reward a slave of the Capuan Calavii—his name  
was Manus—declared that his masters, and in  
addition five young men, Capuan nobles, whose  
fathers had been beheaded by Quintus Fulvius, had  
set that fire, and would set others everywhere if they  
were not arrested. They were arrested, themselves  
and their slaves. And at first they tried to discredit  
the informer and the information. It was said that,  
having been punished by scourging the day before,  
he had left his masters; that owing to anger and  
worthless character he had made up a charge out of a  
chance occurrence. But when they were accused in  
the presence of the informer, and an examination<sup>2</sup>  
of those who had served them in the crime began in  
the centre of the Forum, they all confessed, and  
punishment was visited upon the masters and their  
slave accomplices. The informer was given his  
liberty and twenty thousand asses.

As the consul Laevinus was passing Capua, a multi-  
tude of Capuans flocked about him, begging him with  
tears to be permitted to go to the senate at Rome,  
to plead with them, if they could at last be touched  
by any sense of pity, not to proceed utterly to destroy

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- ultimum perditum irent nomenque Campanorum a  
 11 Q. Flacco deleri sinerent. Flaccus sibi privatam  
 similitatem cum Campanis negare ullam esse:  
 publicas inimicitias<sup>1</sup> et esse et futuras, quoad eo  
 12 animo esse erga populum Romanum sciret. Nullam  
 enim in terris gentem esse, nullum infestiorum  
 populum nomini Romano. Ideo se moenibus inclu-  
 sos tenere eos, quia,<sup>2</sup> si qui evasissent aliqua, velut  
 feras bestias per agros vagari et laniare et trucidare  
 13 quodcumque obvium detur. Alios ad Hannibalem  
 transfugisse, alios ad Romam incendendam profectos.  
 Inventurum in semusto foro consulem vestigia  
 14 sceleris Campanorum. Vestae aedem petitam et  
 aeternos ignes et conditum in penetrali fatale pignus  
 imperi Romani. Se minime censere tutum esse  
 Campanis potestatem intrandi Romana moenia  
 15 fieri. Laevinus Campanos, iure iurando a Flacco  
 adactos, quinto die quam ab senatu responsum  
 accepissent Capuam redituros, sequi se Romam  
 16 iussit. Hac circumfusus multitudo, simul Siculis  
 obviam egressis secutisque Romam, prae-buit speciem  
 dolentis duarum<sup>3</sup> clarissimarum urbium excidio ac  
 celeberrimis viris victos bello accusatores in urbem  
 17 adducentis. De re publica tamen primum ac de  
 provinciis ambo consules ad senatum rettulere.

<sup>1</sup> inimicitias, P(3) add hostilis.<sup>2</sup> quia P(1)J Weissenborn (rejected by Madvig): quod K: quippe Friederichs.<sup>3</sup> speciem dolentis duarum M. Müller: om. P(1)JK, a lost line.

them, and not to allow Quintus Flaccus to wipe out a.o. 210  
 the Capuan people. Flaccus said that he had no  
 personal quarrel with the Capuans; his enmity was  
 national, and would be as long as he knew they were  
 so disposed toward the Roman people. For no  
 nation, no people in the world was more hostile to the  
 Roman people. He was keeping them shut up  
 inside the walls for the reason that, if any escaped in  
 some way, they roamed like wild beasts over the  
 country and mangled and slew all that met them.  
 Some had deserted, he said, to Hannibal, others had  
 gone to set Rome on fire. In the half-burned Forum  
 the consul would find traces of the crime of the  
 Capuans. Vesta's temple had been the object of  
 attack, and the eternal fires, and, hidden away in its  
 holy place, the fateful pledge<sup>1</sup> of Roman rule. He  
 did not think it at all safe to give the Capuans per-  
 mission to enter the walls of Rome. After Flaccus  
 had required the Capuans to take an oath that they  
 would return to Capua on the fifth day after they  
 should receive the senate's answer, Laevinus bade  
 them follow him to Rome. Surrounded by this  
 multitude, while at the same time the Sicilians came  
 out to meet him and followed him into Rome, he  
 bore the appearance of a man grieving for the  
 destruction of two very famous cities, and bringing  
 into the city the vanquished in war to be the accusers  
 of men of the greatest eminence. Nevertheless it  
 was in regard to the state and the provinces that  
 the two consuls first introduced business into the  
 senate.

<sup>1</sup> The Palladium, the sacred image of Athena, said to have  
 been brought from Troy.

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XXVIII. Ibi Laevinus, quo statu Macedonia et Graecia, Aetoli, Acarnanes Locrique essent, quasque  
 2 ibi res ipse egisset terra marique, exposuit: Philippum inferentem bellum Aetolis in Macedoniam retro ab se compulsum ad intuma penitus regni abisse, legionemque inde deduci posse; classem satis esse ad  
 3 arcendum Italia regem. Haec de se deque provincia cui praefuerat consul: tum de provinciis communis relatio fuit. Decrevit patres ut alteri consulum Italia bellumque cum Hannibale provincia esset, alter classem cui T. Otacilius praefuisset Siciliamque provinciam cum L. Cincio praetore obtineret.  
 4 Exercitus eis duo decreti qui in Etruria Galliaque essent; eae quattuor erant legiones; urbanae duae superioris anni in Etruriam, duae quibus Sulpicius consul praefuisset in Galliam mitterentur.  
 5 Galliae et legionibus praeeset quem consul cuius Italia provincia esset praefecisset; in Etruriam C. Calpurnius post praeturam prorogato in annum imperio missus. Et Q. Fulvio Capua provincia  
 7 decreta prorogatumque in annum imperium; exercitus civium sociorumque minui iussus, ut ex duabus legionibus una legio, quinque milia peditum et trecenti equites essent, dimissis qui plurima stipendia haberent, et sociorum septem milia peditum et trecenti<sup>1</sup> equites relinquerentur, eadem ratione

<sup>1</sup> trecenti (ccc) P(1)JK: cccc conj. Weissenborn.

<sup>1</sup> The Locrians are added on account of the capture of their Antioyra; xxvi. 1-3.

XXVIII. There Laevinus explained how matters a.d. 210 stood with Macedonia and Greece, the Aetolians, Acarnanians and Locrians,<sup>1</sup> and what had been his own achievements there by land and sea; that when Philip was on the point of invading Aetolia, he had driven him back into Macedonia, retiring into the very heart of his kingdom; and that the legion could be withdrawn from that country; that the fleet was enough to keep the king away from Italy. So much did the consul report in regard to himself and the province, his late command. Then they both brought up the question of the provinces. The senate decreed that Italy and the war with Hannibal should be the province of one consul, that the other should have the fleet which Titus Otacilius had commanded and Sicily as his province, with Lucius Cincius, the praetor. To the consuls were assigned the two armies which were in Etruria and Gaul; these were four legions. The two city legions of the previous year were to be sent into Etruria; the two which Sulpicius had commanded as consul, into Gaul. Gaul and its legions were to be under the command of the man appointed by the consul whose province was Italy. Gaius Calpurnius was sent into Etruria after his praetorship, with his command extended for a year. And Capua was assigned as his province to Quintus Fulvius, his command also being extended for a year. A reduction in the army of citizens and allies was ordered, so that out of two legions should be formed one, five thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen, while those who had the largest number of campaigns were discharged; and of the allies there should remain only seven thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen,

- stipendiorum habita<sup>1</sup> in veteribus militibus di-  
 9 mittendis. Cn. Fulvio consuli superioris anni nec de  
 provincia Apulia nec de exercitu quem habuerat  
 quicquam mutatum; tantum in annum prorogatum  
 imperium est. P. Sulpicius, conlega eius, omnem  
 exercitum praeter socios navalis iussus dimittere est.  
 10 Item ex Sicilia exercitus cui M. Cornelius praeesset,  
 ubi consul in provinciam venisset, dimitti iussus.  
 11 L. Cincio praetori ad obtinendam Siciliam Cannenses  
 12 milites dati, duarum instar legionum. Totidem  
 legiones in Sardiniam P. Manlio Volsoni praetori  
 decretae, quibus L. Cornelius in eadem provincia  
 13 priore anno praefuerat. Urbanas legiones ita scri-  
 bere consules iussi ne quem militem facerent qui  
 in exercitu M. Claudii, M. Valerii, Q. Fulvi fuisset,  
 neve eo anno plures quam una et viginti Romanae  
 legiones essent.

- XXIX. His senatus consultis perfectis sortiti<sup>2</sup>  
 provincias consules. Sicilia et classis Marcello,  
 Italia cum bello adversus Hannibalem Laevino evenit.  
 2 Quae sors, velut iterum captis Syracusis, ita exani-  
 mavit Siculos, exspectatione sortis in consulum  
 conspectu stantis, ut comploratio eorum flebilesque  
 voces et extemplo oculos hominum converterint et  
 3 postmodo sermones praeberint. Circumbant enim

<sup>1</sup> habita *P(1) Aldus*: inita *JK*.

<sup>2</sup> sortiti *DAJK Aldus*: sortirii *PR*: sortiri *CMB*: sortiri  
 iussi *conj. Weissenborn*.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the army which Laevinus had had the year before in  
 Greece. But in the next year Sulpicius still kept one legion;  
 XXVII. vii. 16.

with the same reckoning of campaigns in discharg- B.C. 210  
 ing old soldiers. For Gnaeus Fulvius, consul in the  
 previous year, no change was made either in regard  
 to his province of Apulia, or as to the army he  
 had held; his command was merely extended for a  
 year. Publius Sulpicius, his colleague, was bidden  
 to discharge his entire army,<sup>1</sup> except the marines.  
 From Sicily in the same way the army which Marcus  
 Cornelius commanded was ordered to be discharged  
 as soon as the consul should reach the province. In  
 order to hold Sicily the soldiers from Cannae,  
 amounting to about two legions, were given to  
 Lucius Cincius, the praetor. The same number were  
 assigned for Sardinia to Publius Manlius Volso,  
 the praetor—legions which Lucius Cornelius had  
 commanded in the same province the preceding  
 year. As for the city legions, the consuls were  
 ordered to enrol them, with the restriction that they  
 should not enlist any man who had been in the army  
 of Marcus Claudius, Marcus Valerius, or Quintus  
 Fulvius,<sup>2</sup> and that there should not be in that year  
 more than twenty-one Roman legions.

XXIX. After these decrees of the senate were  
 completed, the consuls cast lots for their provinces.  
 Sicily and the fleet fell to Marcellus, Italy with the  
 war against Hannibal to Laevinus. That allotment,  
 just as if Syracuse had again been captured, so badly  
 frightened the Sicilians, who were standing before  
 the eyes of the consuls while awaiting the result, that  
 their lamentation and tearful voices at once attracted  
 the eyes of men and later occasioned remark. For

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* there were to be no veterans who had been discharged  
 from the armies mentioned above in §§ 6-10, partly under  
 the names of later commanders.

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senatorum domos<sup>1</sup> cum veste sordida, adfirmantes se non modo suam quosque<sup>2</sup> patriam, sed totam Siciliam relicturos, si eo Marcellus iterum cum imperio redisset. Nullo suo merito eum ante inplacabilem in se fuisse: quid iratum, quod Romam de se questum venisse Siculos sciat, facturum? Obrui Aetnae ignibus aut mergi freto satius illi insulae esse quam velut dedi noxae inimico. Hae Siculorum querellae domos primum nobilium circumlatae celebrataeque sermonibus, quos partim misericordia Siculorum, partim invidia Marcelli excitabat, in senatum etiam pervenerunt. Postulatum a consulibus est ut de permutandis provinciis senatum consularent. Marcellus, si iam auditi ab senatu Siculi essent, aliam forsitan futuram fuisse sententiam suam dicere: nunc, ne quis timore frenari eos dicere posset,<sup>3</sup> quo minus de eo libere querantur in cuius potestate mox futuri sint, si conlegae nihil intersit, mutare se provinciam paratum esse; deprecari senatus praeiudicium; nam cum extra sortem conlegae optionem dari provinciae inicium fuerit, quanto maiorem iniuriam, immo contumeliam esse, sortem suam ad eum transferri?

9 Ita senatus, cum quid placeret magis ostendisset quam decresset,<sup>4</sup> dimittitur. Inter ipsos consules permutatio provinciarum, rapiente fato Marcellum

<sup>1</sup> domos *Weissenborn*: om. *P*(1).<sup>2</sup> quosque *Madvig*: quisque *P*(1) *JK Aldus*: quemque *A' Valla, Gronovius*.<sup>3</sup> posset *P*(1) *NJK*: possit *J. H. Voss*.<sup>4</sup> decresset *P*: -crevisset *P*<sup>1</sup>(1) *Conway*.<sup>1</sup> Since a vote of the senate that an exchange of provinces be made would prejudice any subsequent action concerning Marcellus' administration in Sicily.

they went the rounds of the senators' houses in mourning garb, asserting that they would not only leave, each group of them, their native city, but all Sicily, if Marcellus should return again in command. For no fault of theirs he had before been merciless to them; what would he do when angry, knowing that Sicilians had come to Rome to complain about himself? It was better for that island to be overwhelmed by the fires of Aetna or sunk in the strait than to be handed over as it were to a personal foe for punishment. These complaints of the Sicilians, at first circulated in the homes of the nobles, and repeated in conversations inspired partly by pity for the Sicilians, partly by antagonism to Marcellus, even reached the senate. It was demanded of the consuls that they raise in the senate the question of an exchange of provinces. Marcellus said that, if the Sicilians had already been heard by the senate, his opinion would perhaps have been different. As it was, to prevent any one from saying that they were restrained by fear from freely complaining about the man in whose power they would presently be, he was ready, if it was of no consequence to his colleague, to exchange his province. He deprecated, he said, a verdict from the senate in advance;<sup>1</sup> for, granted that it would have been unfair for the choice of a province to be given to his colleague without casting lots, how much greater was the injustice, or rather the insult, if his own allotment should be transferred to that colleague?

Accordingly the senate adjourned, after showing what it favoured, but making no such decree. Between themselves the consuls made an exchange of provinces, for Fate was sweeping Marcellus in the

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10 ad Hannibalem, facta est, ut ex quo primus post  
adversissimas haud adversae<sup>1</sup> pugnae gloriam ce-  
perat, in eius laudem postremus Romanorum impera-  
torum, prosperis tum maxime bellicis rebus, caderet.

XXX. Permutatis provinciis Siculi in senatum  
introduci multa de Hieronis regis fide perpetua erga  
populum Romanum verba fecerunt, in gratiam  
2 publicam avertentes: Hieronymum ac postea Hippo-  
craten atque Epicyden tyrannos cum ob alia, tum  
propter defectionem ab Romanis ad Hannibalem  
invisos fuisse sibi. Ob eam causam et Hieronymum  
a principibus iuventutis prope<sup>2</sup> publico consilio  
3 interfectum, et in Epicydis Hippocratisque caedem  
septuaginta nobilissimorum iuvenum coniurationem  
factam; quos Marcelli mora destitutos, quia ad  
praedictum tempus exercitum ad Syracusas non  
admovisset, indicio facto omnis ab tyrannis inter-  
4 fectos. Eam quoque Hippocratis et Epicydis tyran-  
nidem Marcellum excitasse Leontinis crudeliter  
5 direptis. Numquam deinde principes Syracusa-  
norum desisse ad Marcellum transire pollicerique se  
urbem, cum vellet, ei tradituros; sed eum primo vi  
6 capere maluisse; dein cum id neque terra neque  
mari omnia expertus potuisset, auctores traditarum  
Syracusarum fabrum aerarium Sosim et Moericum

<sup>1</sup> adversissimas haud *Madvig*: *om. P(1)NJK, a lost line, variously supplied.*

<sup>2</sup> prope *z Aldus*: *pro P(1)Nxx: om. M'A<sup>2</sup>JK.*

<sup>1</sup> At Nola; XXIII. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> As Flaminius and Aemilius Paulus had fallen. The death of Marcellus actually occurred two years later, in his 5th consulship; XXVII. xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> About eighty in number in XXV. xxiii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *l.c.* § 7.

direction of Hannibal. The result was that he who, B.C. 210  
after the greatest reverses, had been the first to win  
from Hannibal the glory of a battle that was not a  
reverse,<sup>1</sup> added to his opponent's fame, being the  
last of the Roman commanders to fall,<sup>2</sup> at the very  
moment of success in the war.

XXX. After the exchange of provinces the Sicil-  
ians were introduced into the senate, and spoke at  
length on the invariable loyalty of King Hiero to-  
wards the Roman people, laying that to the credit of  
the state. As for Hieronymus, and later, Hippo-  
crates and Epicydes, the tyrants, they said they had  
themselves hated them for other reasons and  
especially because of their desertion from the Romans  
to Hannibal. On that account Hieronymus had  
been slain by the foremost of the young men, almost  
as if by a verdict of the people. And also to bring  
about the death of Epicydes and Hippocrates a con-  
spiracy of seventy young men of the highest rank  
had been formed.<sup>3</sup> These men, they said, had been  
left in the lurch by the delay of Marcellus, in that he  
had not brought up his army to Syracuse at the time  
named in advance, and when an informer appeared,  
they had all been slain by the tyrants.<sup>4</sup> That tyranny  
also of Hippocrates and Epicydes had been provoked  
by Marcellus' cruel plundering of Leontini. After  
that, they said, leading men among the Syracusans  
had never ceased going over to Marcellus and  
promising that, whenever he wished it, they would  
turn the city over to him; but that at first he had  
preferred to take it by force; then, when after all  
his efforts he had proved unable to do so either by  
land or by sea, he had preferred to have the copper-  
smith Sosis and the Spaniard Moericus advocating

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Hispanum quam principes Syracusanorum habere, totiens id nequiquam ultro offerentis, praeoptasse, quo scilicet iustiore de causa vetustissimos socios populi  
 7 Romani trucidaret ac diriperet. Si non Hieronymus ad Hannibalem defecisset, sed populus Syracusanus et senatus, si portas Marcello Syracusani publice et non oppressis Syracusanis tyranni eorum Hippocrates et Epicydes clausissent, si Carthaginiensium animis  
 8 bellum cum populo Romano gessissent, quid ultra quam quod fecerit, nisi ut deleret Syracusas, facere  
 9 hostiliter Marcellum potuisse? Certe praeter moenia et tecta exhausta urbis et refracta<sup>1</sup> ac spoliata deum delubra, dis ipsis ornamentisque eorum  
 10 ablatis, nihil relictum Syracusis esse. Bona quoque multis adempta, ita ut ne nudo<sup>2</sup> quidem solo reliquis<sup>3</sup> direptae fortunae<sup>4</sup> alere sese ac suos possent. Orare se patres conscriptos ut, si nequeant omnia, saltem quae compareant cognoscique possint restitui  
 11 dominis iubeant. Talia conquestos cum excedere ex templo, ut de postulatis eorum patres consuli  
 12 possent, Laevinus iussisset, "Maneant immo"<sup>5</sup> inquit Marcellus "ut coram iis respondeam, quando ea condicione pro vobis, patres conscripti, bella

<sup>1</sup> et refracta *Sp?* *Froben* 2: ac refracta *P*: sacra fracta *P?*(1) *JK Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> nudo *P*(3) *JK Froben*: in nudo *Madvig*.

<sup>3</sup> reliquiis *P* (in repeated lines) *Froben* 2: reliis *Sp*: reliquis *P* (before repetition) (1) *JK*.

<sup>4</sup> fortunae *P* (in repeated lines) *CSp Froben* 2: nae *P*<sup>2</sup>(3) *JK*.

<sup>5</sup> immo *Sp*: imo *Froben* 2: om. *P*(1) *JK*.

<sup>1</sup> It was now *ager publicus* (cf. xvi. 8), to be leased normally from the censors, by exception from a general; XXVII. iii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The Curia had been duly inaugurated as a *templum*.

the surrender of Syracuse, rather than the leading a.c. 210 Syracusans, although these volunteered again and again to do so, but to no purpose. His motive, of course, was to have the more reasonable excuse for slaughtering and plundering the oldest allies of the Roman people. If it had been not Hieronymus that went over to Hannibal, but the Syracusan people and senate, if it had been the Syracusans that by an act of the state closed the gates to Marcellus, and not rather their tyrants, Hippocrates and Epicydes, after overpowering the Syracusans, if with the animus of Carthaginians they had waged war against the Roman people, what hostile deed could Marcellus have done beyond what he did do, unless it be to destroy Syracuse? Certainly apart from the city-walls and the emptied houses and the sanctuaries of the gods, broken open and despoiled by removal of the statues of the gods themselves and their adornments, nothing had been left at Syracuse. Their landed property also had been taken away from many,<sup>1</sup> so that they could not support themselves and their families, even on the bare soil, with the help of what was left of their plundered possessions. They implored the conscript fathers, they said, if it was impossible for them to restore everything, to order that at least what was visible and could be identified be returned to the owners. After they had uttered such complaints and Laevinus had ordered them to leave the temple,<sup>2</sup> that the fathers might be able to deliberate in regard to their demands, "No, no," said Marcellus, "let them wait, that I may answer them to their faces, since such are the terms on which we wage war in your behalf, conscript fathers, that we have men vanquished by

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gerimus ut victos armis accusatores habeamus, duae<sup>1</sup> captae hoc anno urbes, Capua Fulvium reum, Marcellum Syracusae habeant."

XXXI. Reductis in curiam legatis tum consul "Non adeo maiestatis" inquit "populi Romani imperiique huius oblitus sum, patres conscripti, ut, si de meo crimine ambigeretur, consul dicturus<sup>2</sup> causam accusantibus Graecis fuerim. Sed non quid ego fecerim in disquisitionem venit—nam quidquid<sup>3</sup> in hostibus feci ius belli defendit—sed quid isti pati debuerint. Qui si non fuerunt hostes, nihil interest, nunc an vivo Hierone Syracusas violaverim.<sup>4</sup> Sin autem desciverunt a populo Romano, si<sup>5</sup> legatos nostros ferro atque armis petierunt, urbem ac moenia clausurunt, exercituque Carthaginiensium adversus nos tutati sunt, quis passos esse hostilia, cum fecerint, indignatur? Tradentis urbem principes Syracusanorum aversatus sum; Sosim et Moericum Hispanum quibus tantam rem<sup>6</sup> crederem potiores habui. Non estis extremi Syracusanorum, quippe qui aliis humilitatem obiciatis: quis est vestrum qui se mihi portas aperturum, qui armatos milites meos in urbem accepturum promiserit? Odistis et exsecramini eos qui fecerunt, et ne hic<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> duae P(1)JK: duaeque Conway: et duae Ussing.

<sup>2</sup> nam quidquid P(1): quem quidquid Sp Froben 2; the eight following words (in . . . sed quid) are omitted in P(1), but preserved by Sp, with a single correction (Rhenanus) in defendit for -dendi.

<sup>3</sup> a populo Romano, si (i.e. a p. Ro. si) Madvig: a p. R. Fabri: portasi P?: portas P<sup>a</sup>(1): om. A<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>4</sup> tantam rem x Aldus, Froben: rem tantam A<sup>1</sup>JKx: tantam P(1): Böttcher and Conway place rem after crederem.

<sup>5</sup> hic Aldus, Froben: his P(1)K: hiis J.

our arms as accusers, and of the two cities captured A.C. 310 this year Capua has Fulvius as its defendant, Syracuse has Marcellus."

XXXI. When the legates had been led back into the Senate House, the consul said: "Not so forgetful have I been of the majesty of the Roman people and of this authority of mine, conscript fathers, that if it were a question of a charge brought against me, I as consul would have pleaded my case with Greeks as my accusers. But it is not what I have done that is to be inquired into—for whatever I did in the case of enemies is defended by the law of war—but what they deserved to suffer. If they have not been enemies, it makes no difference whether it was recently or in the time of Hiero that I desolated Syracuse.<sup>1</sup> But if they rebelled against the Roman people, if they attacked our ambassadors with sword and arms,<sup>2</sup> closed their city and walls, defended them against us with an army of Carthaginians, who is indignant because they suffered hostile acts, when they have committed them? When leading men among the Syracusans tried to surrender the city, I rejected them; I preferred Sosis and Moericus the Spaniard as the men to whom I should entrust so important a matter. You are not Syracusans of the lowest rank, inasmuch as you reproach others with their humble station. Who is there among you who promised that he would open the gates to me, that he would admit my soldiers under arms into the city? You hate and curse those who did so, and even here

<sup>1</sup> An indirect way of saying, Why did they bring in Hiero? Cf. xxx. 1.

<sup>2</sup> They escaped, though their ship was captured: XXIV. xxxiii. 2.



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- quidem contumeliis in eos dicendis parcitis; tantum  
 6 abest ut et ipsi tale quicquam facturi fueritis. Ipsa  
 humilitas eorum, patres conscripti, quam isti obiciunt,  
 maximo argumento est me neminem qui navatam  
 operam rei publicae nostrae vellet aversatum esse.  
 7 Et antequam obsiderem Syracusas, nunc legatis  
 mittendis, nunc ad conloquium eundo temptavi  
 pacem, et posteaquam neque legatos violandi  
 verecundia erat, nec mihi ipsi congresso ad portas  
 cum principibus responsum dabatur, multis terra  
 marique exhaustis laboribus tandem vi atque armis  
 8 Syracusas cepi. Quae captis acciderint apud Hanni-  
 balem et Carthaginienses victos iustius quam apud  
 9 victoris populi senatum quererentur. Ego, patres  
 conscripti, Syracusas spoliatas si negaturus essem,  
 numquam spoliis earum urbem Romam exornarem.  
 Quae autem singulis victor aut ademi aut dedi,  
 cum belli iure tum ex cuiusque merito satis scio me  
 10 fecisse. Ea vos rata habeatis, patres conscripti,  
 necne,<sup>1</sup> magis rei publicae interest quam mea.  
 Quippe mea fides exsoluta est: ad rem publicam  
 pertinet ne acta mea rescindendo alios in posterum  
 11 segniores duces faciatis. Et quoniam coram et  
 Siculorum et mea verba audistis, patres conscripti,  
 simul templo excedemus, ut me absente liberius

<sup>1</sup> necne *x Aldus, Froben*: ne *P(1)JK*.

<sup>1</sup> Legates at the gates are mentioned in XXIV. xxxiii. 4  
 and XXV. xxiii. 10, but Marcellus is not named. Cf. Plutarch

you do not refrain from uttering insults against them. *B.C. 210*  
 So far is it from the truth that you also would have  
 done anything of the sort. Their humble rank,  
 conscript fathers, of which those men make a re-  
 proach, is itself the strongest proof that I did not  
 turn my back upon any man who wished to serve  
 our state. Before I laid siege to Syracuse, I en-  
 deavoured, now by sending embassies, now by going  
 to a conference, to secure peace; again, it was  
 not until after they showed no shame in injuring  
 ambassadors, and no answer was given even to  
 myself, when I met with their leading men at the  
 gates,<sup>1</sup> that, having endured many hardships on land  
 and sea, I at last captured Syracuse by force of arms.  
 Of what befell the captured it is more reasonable  
 for them to complain in the presence of Hannibal  
 and the defeated Carthaginians than in the senate of  
 a victorious nation. For myself, conscript fathers,  
 if I had been intending to deny the despoiling of  
 Syracuse, I should never be using its spoils to adorn  
 the city of Rome. But in what I as victor either  
 took from individuals or gave to them, I am quite  
 sure that I acted both according to the law of war  
 and in accordance with each man's desert. Whether  
 you confirm those acts, conscript fathers, or not,  
 concerns the state more than myself. For my duty  
 has been fully discharged; it is to the interest of the  
 state that you do not make other commanders less  
 energetic for the future by annulling my acts. And  
 seeing that you have heard face to face the words of  
 the Sicilians, and mine as well, conscript fathers, we  
 shall leave the temple at the same time, so that in my  
*Marcellus* xviii. 2, where he takes part in conferences near a  
 certain tower.

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consulis senatus possit." Ita dimissi Siculi,<sup>1</sup> et ipse in Capitolium ad dilectum discessit.

- XXXII. Consul alter de postulatis Siculorum ad patres rettulit. Ibi cum diu sententiis certatum esset, et magna pars senatus, principe eius sententiae
- 2 T. Manlio Torquato, cum tyrannis bellum gerendum fuisse censerent, hostibus et Syracusanorum et populi Romani, et urbem recipi, non capi, et receptam legibus antiquis et libertate stabiliri, non fessam
- 3 miseranda servitute bello adfligi; inter tyrannorum et ducis Romani certamina praemium victoris in medio positam urbem pulcherrimam ac nobilissimam perisse, horreum atque aerarium quondam populi Romani, cuius munificentia ac donis multis tempestatibus, hoc denique ipso Punico bello adiuta ornataque
- 4 res publica esset. Si ab inferis existat rex Hiero, fidissimus imperi Romani cultor, quo ore aut Syracusas aut Romam ei ostendi posse, cum, ubi semirutam ac spoliata patriam respexerit, ingrediens Romam in vestibulo urbis, prope in porta, spolia patriae
- 5 suae visurus sit?—haec taliaque cum ad invidiam consulis miserationemque Siculorum dicerentur, mi-
- 6 tius tamen decreverunt patres: acta M.<sup>2</sup> Marcelli quae is gerens bellum victorque egisset rata habenda

<sup>1</sup> dimissi Siculi C: -sis siculi PRM: -sis -lis M'BDAJK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> acta M. Weissenborn: ctam P: tam P<sup>2</sup>(3): cam M: causam A'JK: causa M<sup>6</sup> Aldus, Froben.

<sup>1</sup> As an ally, after its surrender.

<sup>2</sup> For Hiero's ample gifts see XXII. xxxvii; XXIII. xxi. 5 and xxxviii, 13.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the two temples built by Marcellus outside the Porta Capena and adorned by him with spoils of Syracuse; XXVII. xxv. 7 ff. Cf. Vol. VI, p. 494 n. They were still unfinished; cf. xxxi. 9.

absence the senate can deliberate with greater freedom." So the Sicilians were dismissed, and he himself withdrew to the Capitol to conduct the levy. B.C. 210

XXXII. The other consul laid the matter of the Sicilians' demands before the fathers. Among them for a long time there was a conflict of opinions, and many senators, with Titus Manlius Torquatus as spokesman for that opinion, thought that they should have gone to war with the tyrants, enemies both of the Syracusans and of the Roman people, and that the city ought to have been taken over,<sup>1</sup> not captured, and once taken over, should have been confirmed in the possession of its former laws and its freedom, not crushed by war when already exhausted by a pitiful slavery. They said that in the conflicts between the tyrants and the Roman commander the most beautiful and famous of cities, set up in the midst as a prize for the victor, had been destroyed, the granary and treasury formerly of the Roman people, for by its generous gifts on many occasions, and last of all in this very Punic war,<sup>2</sup> the republic had been aided and enriched. If King Hiero, most faithful in his devotion to the Roman empire, should rise from the lower world, with what face could they show him either Syracuse or Rome, when after a backward look at his native city, half-ruined and despoiled, upon entering Rome he was to see in the forecourt of the city, almost at the gate, the spoils of his own city?<sup>3</sup> Although these words and others to the same effect were spoken in order to arouse hatred against the consul and pity for the Sicilians, the senate nevertheless adopted a milder decree: that the acts of Marcus Marcellus, during his conduct of the war and as victor, were to be ratified; for the

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esse; in relicum curae senatui fore rem Syracusanam, mandaturosque consuli Laevino ut, quod<sup>1</sup> sine iactura rei publicae fieri posset, fortunis eius civitatis  
7 consuleret. Missis duobus senatoribus in Capitolium ad consulem, uti rediret in curiam, et introductis  
8 Siculis, senatus consultum recitatum est; legatique benigne appellati ac dimissi ad genua se Marcelli consulis proiecerunt obsecrantes<sup>2</sup> ut quae deplorandae ac levandae calamitatis causa dixissent veniam eis daret, et in fidem clientelamque se urbemque Syracusas acciperet. Pollicens hoc<sup>3</sup> consul clementer appellatos eos dimisit.

XXXIII. Campanis deinde senatus datus est, quorum oratio miserabilior, causa durior erat. Neque enim meritas poenas negare poterant, nec tyranni erant in quos culpam conferrent;<sup>4</sup> sed satis pensum poenarum tot veneno absumptis, tot securi percussis  
3 senatoribus credebant: paucos nobilium superstites esse,<sup>5</sup> quos nec sua conscientia ut quicquam de se gravius consulerent impulerit, nec victoris ira capitis damnaverit; eos libertatem sibi suisque et bonorum aliquam partem orare, cives Romanos, adfinitatibus

<sup>1</sup> ut, quod *Alschefski*: vi quod *P*: quod *P<sup>2</sup>(1)* *Gronovius*: quoad *z*.

<sup>2</sup> obsecrantes *AJK Aldus, Froben*: et obsecrantes *P(3)*: orantes et obsecrantes *Weissenborn*.

<sup>3</sup> Pollicens hoc *Böttcher*: potens oc (for sdc or s.c?) *P(3)*: potens senatus consulto *Walters*: potens sui *Alschefski*: post haec *M<sup>2</sup>AJK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>4</sup> conferrent *P(3) Aldus*: deferrent *BDANJKz*.

<sup>5</sup> superstites esse *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: superior esse *P*: -iores esse *P<sup>2</sup>(1)AN*: superesse *Alschefski*.

future the Syracusan state would be cared for by the senate, and they would instruct the consul Laevinus to take measures for the property of its citizens, so far as could be done without loss to the republic. Two senators were sent to the consul on the Capitol, that he should return to the Senate House; and after the Sicilians had been brought in, the decree of the senate was read. And the legates, dismissed with kind words, threw themselves down before the knees of Marcellus, the consul, imploring him to pardon what they had said in lamenting and seeking to mitigate their misfortune, and that he would take them and the city of Syracuse under his protection and patronage. Making this promise the consul spoke to them gently and dismissed them.

XXXIII. The Campanians then had their hearing in the senate, and their speech was more pitiful, their case more difficult. For they could not deny that punishment had been deserved, nor were there tyrants on whom they could throw the blame. But they believed that a sufficient penalty had been paid, since so many senators had been carried off by poison, so many executed by beheading; that few of the nobles survived, whom neither their conscience had prompted to do violence to themselves, nor an angry victor had condemned to death. Those were the men who were begging, they said, for freedom for themselves and their families and for some part of their property, being Roman citizens,<sup>1</sup> linked to them in many cases through relations by marriage, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 10. Roman citizenship had been conferred upon the Campanian knights in 339 B.C., and *civitas sine suffragio* upon all the Campanians soon after; cf. VIII. xi. 16; xiv. 10.

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plerosque et propinquis iam<sup>1</sup> cognationibus ex  
conubio vetusto iunctos.

- 4 Summotis deinde a templo paulisper dubitatum  
an arcessendus a Capua Q. Fulvius esset—mortuus  
enim post captam Claudius consul erat—ut<sup>2</sup> coram  
imperatore qui res gessisset, sicut inter Marcellum  
5 Siculosque disceptatum fuerat, disceptaretur. Dein  
cum M. Atilium, C. Fulvium fratrem Flacci, legatos  
eius, et Q. Minucium et L. Veturium Philonem, item  
Claudii legatos, qui omnibus gerendis rebus adfuerant,  
in senatu viderent nec Fulvium avocari a Capua nec  
6 differri Campanos vellent, interrogatus sententiam  
M. Atilius Regulus, cuius ex iis qui ad Capuam  
7 fuerant maxima auctoritas erat, "In consilio"  
inquit "arbitror me fuisse consulibus, Capua capta  
cum quaereretur ecqui Campanorum bene meritis  
8 de re publica nostra esset. Duas mulieres conpertum  
est, Vestiam Oppiam Atellanam Capuae habitantem  
et Paculam Cluviam, quae quondam quaestum corpore  
fecisset, illam cotidie sacrificasse pro salute et  
victoria populi Romani, hanc captivis egentibus  
9 alimenta clam suppeditasse; ceterorum omnium  
Campanorum eundem erga nos animum quem  
Carthaginensium fuisse, securique percussos a Q.  
Fulvio fuisse<sup>3</sup> magis quorum dignitas inter alios  
10 quam quorum culpa eminebat. Per senatum agi de

<sup>1</sup> iam *Froben* 2: iamiam *P(1)NJK Aldus*: etiam *Madvig*:  
iam etiam *Gronovius*.

<sup>2</sup> ut *A'JK Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> Fulvio fuisse *A'JK Aldus, Froben*: fulvi cisse *P*: fulvio  
vicisse *P<sup>2</sup>(3)*: Fulvio esse *Gronovius*.

<sup>1</sup> At this time proconsul. For his death cf. xvi. 1

<sup>2</sup> I.e. former *legati* before Capua.

now by close blood relations in consequence of their *a.c.* 210  
long-established right of intermarriage.

Then after they had been conducted out of the temple, there was for a short time hesitation whether Quintus Fulvius should be summoned from Capua—for Claudius, the consul,<sup>1</sup> had died after the capture of the city—in order that the discussion might go on in the presence of the general who had conducted the campaign, just as it had been carried on between Marcellus and the Sicilians. Then, when they saw Flaccus' lieutenants<sup>2</sup> in the senate, namely his brother Gaius Fulvius and Marcus Atilius, also Claudius' lieutenants, Quintus Minucius and Lucius Veturius Philo, men who had witnessed everything that was done, and they did not wish Fulvius to be recalled from Capua nor the Campanians to be put off, Marcus Atilius Regulus, who had the greatest influence of all the men who had been at Capua, was asked his opinion. "I testify," he said, "that I was one of the advisers to the consuls when, after the capture of Capua, the question was raised whether there was anyone of the Campanians who had deserved well of our republic. It was ascertained that there were two women only, Vestia Oppia, of Atella, domiciled at Capua, and Pacula Cluvia, who had formerly been a harlot; that the former had sacrificed every day for the safety and victory of the Roman people, and the latter had secretly supplied food to needy captives; that all the rest of the Campanians had had the same feelings towards us as had the Carthaginians; and those beheaded by Quintus Fulvius were the men whose rank rather than their guilt was conspicuous among the others. I do not see that it is possible for action to be taken

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- Campanis, qui cives Romani sunt, iniussu populi non video posse, idque et apud maiores nostros in Satricanis factum esse, cum defecissent, ut M. Antistius tribunus plebis prius rogationem ferret, sciscereturque plebs uti senatui de Satricanis sententiae
- 11 dicendae ius esset. Itaque censeo cum tribunis plebis agendum esse ut eorum unus pluresve rogationem ferant ad plebem qua nobis statuendi de
- 12 Campanis ius fiat." L. Atilius tribunus plebis ex auctoritate senatus plebem in haec verba rogavit: "Omnes Campani, Atellani, Calatini, Sabatini, qui se dediderunt in arbitrium dicionemque populi Romani
- 13 Q. Fulvio proconsuli, quosque una secum dedidere,<sup>1</sup> quaeque una secum dedidere, agrum urbemque, divina humanaque, utensiliaque sive quid aliud dediderunt, de iis rebus quid fieri velitis vos rogo,
- 14 Quirites." Plebes sic iussit: "Quod senatus iuratus, maxima pars, censeat, qui adsient,<sup>2</sup> id volumus iubemusque."

XXXIV. Ex hoc plebei scito senatus consultus Oppiae Cliviaeque primum bona ac libertatem restituit: si qua alia praemia petere absenatu vellent, 2 venire eas Romam. Campanis in familias singulas decreta facta, quae non operae pretium est omnia

<sup>1</sup> quosque . . . dedidere P: rejected by Madvig (following *Aldus*), while P<sup>1</sup> or P<sup>2</sup> wished to delete the quaeque clause, which (1)JKz omit.

<sup>2</sup> adsient Cobet: assidens P(1) Aldus, Froben: assidens DJK: adsidet C<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Satricum, near Antium and subject to it, revolted to the Samnites in 319 B.C. Livy's account at IX. xvi. 10 does not cover the procedure here mentioned, but tells only of the severity of Papirius Cursor.

<sup>2</sup> All non-citizens, including freedmen and the rest mentioned in xvi. 8.

by the senate in regard to the Campanians, who are B.C. 210 Roman citizens, without the command of the people; and I see that in the time of our ancestors also the procedure in the case of the Satricani, after their revolt, was that Marcus Antistius, tribune of the plebs, first introduced a bill, and the plebs voted that the senate should have the right to pronounce judgment upon the men of Satricum.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly I think that we must persuade the tribunes of the plebs that one or more of them should propose to the plebs a bill by which we should be given the right to decide in regard to the Campanians." Lucius Atilius, tribune of the plebs, by authority of the senate brought before the plebs a bill in these terms: "All the Capuans, Atellani, Calatini, Sabatini, who under Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, surrendered themselves to the will and authority of the Roman people, and the men<sup>2</sup> whom they have surrendered along with themselves, and the possessions which they have surrendered along with themselves, the land and the city, property of gods and property of men, and implements or anything else that they have surrendered—concerning those matters, Quirites, I ask you what you wish to be done." The plebs ordered as follows: "What the senate under oath, a majority of those present, shall decree, that is our wish and command."

XXXIV. In accordance with this plebiscite the senate, on being consulted, restored to Oppia and Clivia first their property and their freedom: if they wished to request other compensations from the senate, it ordered them to come to Rome. For the Capuans, family by family,<sup>3</sup> decrees were passed,

<sup>3</sup> For he is speaking of the aristocracy.

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3 enumerare: aliorum bona publicanda, ipsos liberosque eorum et coniuges vendendas, extra filias quae enupsissent priusquam in populi Romani potestatem  
4 venirent; alios in vincula condendos, ac de iis posterius consulendum; aliorum Campanorum summam<sup>1</sup> etiam census distinxerunt publicanda necne  
5 bona essent. Pecua captiva praeter equos et mancipia praeter puberes virilis sexus<sup>2</sup> et omnia quae solo non continerentur restituenda censuerunt  
6 dominis. Campanos omnis, Atellanos, Calatinos, Sabatinos, extraquam qui eorum aut ipsi aut parentes  
7 eorum apud hostis essent, liberos esse iusserunt, ita ut nemo eorum civis Romanus aut Latini nominis esset, neve quis eorum qui Capuae fuisset, dum portae clausae essent, in urbe agrove Campano intra certam diem maneret; locus ubi habitarent trans Tiberim qui non contingeret Tiberim daretur;  
8 qui nec Capuae nec in urbe Campana quae a populo Romano defecisset per bellum fuissent, eos cis Lirim  
9 amnem Romam versus, qui ad Romanos transissent, priusquam Capuam Hannibal veniret, cis Volturnum emovendos censuerunt, ne quis eorum propius mare quindecim milibus passuum agrum aedificiumve  
10 haberet. Qui eorum trans Tiberim emoti essent, ne ipsi posterive eorum uspiam pararent haberentve

<sup>1</sup> summam *P(1)JKM*<sup>1</sup>? : summa *M*? *Duker*.

<sup>2</sup> virilis sexus *CM*<sup>2</sup>*AJK Aldus, Froben* : viriles sexus *P(3)* : virile secus *Jac. Gronovius*.

<sup>1</sup> This class of persons retained their freedom and part of their property.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* in the Carthaginian army.

<sup>3</sup> In the interior of Etruria; § 10.

which it is not worth while to recount in full. The property of some of them was to be confiscated, themselves and their children and wives sold, except the daughters who, before they became subject to the authority of the Roman people, had married into other communities. Others were to be put in chains and action concerning them considered later. In the case of other Capuans they graded their census rating also, to determine whether their property should be confiscated or not.<sup>1</sup> As for captured cattle, except horses, they decreed that they be restored to their owners, and slaves, except adult males, also everything which was not attached to the soil. All Capuans, Atellani, Calatini, Sabatini, except such of them as had been with the enemy,<sup>2</sup> either themselves or their fathers, were to be free men, it was ordered, with the reservation that no one of them should be a Roman citizen or reckoned a Latin, and that no one of them who had been at Capua while the gates were closed should remain in the city or in the territory of Capua beyond a certain date; that a region across the Tiber, but not touching the Tiber, be given them as a dwelling-place.<sup>3</sup> As for those who during the war had not been in Capua nor in a Campanian city which had revolted from the Roman people, it was voted that these should be removed this side of the Liris river in the direction of Rome; and that those who had come over to the Romans before Hannibal came to Capua should be removed this side of the Volturnus, no one of them to have land or building nearer the sea than fifteen miles.<sup>4</sup> Of those removed across the Tiber, neither the men themselves nor their descendants were to acquire or

<sup>4</sup> Thus they were to be cut off from maritime commerce.

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nisi in Veiente,<sup>1</sup> Sutrimo Nepesinove agro, dum ne cui maior quam quinquaginta iugerum agri modus esset. Senatorum omnium quique magistratus Capuae, Atellae, Calatiae gessissent bona venire Capuae iusserunt; libera corpora quae venum dari placuerat Romam mitti ac Romae venire. Signa, statuas aeneas quae capta de hostibus dicerentur, quae eorum sacra ac profana essent ad pontificum collegium reiecerunt. Ob haec decreta maestiores aliquanto quam Romam venerant Campanos dimiserunt. Nec iam Q. Fulvii saevitiam in sese, sed iniquitatem deum atque execrabilem fortunam suam incusabant.

XXXV. Dimissis Siculis Campanisque dilectus habitus. Scripto deinde exercitu de remigum supplemento agi coeptum; in quam rem cum neque hominum satis, nec ex qua pararentur stipendiumque acciperent pecuniae quicquam ea tempestate in publico esset, edixerunt consules ut privati<sup>2</sup> ex censu ordinibusque, sicut antea, remiges darent cum stipendio cibariisque dierum triginta. Ad id edictum tantus fremitus hominum, tanta indignatio fuit ut magis dux quam materia seditioni deesset: secundum Siculos Campanosque plebem Romanam perdendam lacerandamque sibi consules sumpsisse. Per tot annos tributo exhaustos nihil reliqui praeter terram

<sup>1</sup> Veiente, A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK; Aldus, Froben add aut.

<sup>2</sup> privati Froben 1: privatim P(1)JK Aldus, Conway: privato z.

<sup>1</sup> In 214 B.C.; XXIV. xi. 7 f.

hold anywhere except in the districts of Veii, Sutrium or Nepete, with the provision that no one was to have a larger amount of land than fifty *iugera*. The property of all senators and of those who had held office at Capua, Atella, Calatia they ordered to be sold at Capua; that the free persons who, it had been voted, should be offered for sale be sent to Rome and sold at Rome. Images, statues of bronze, which were said to have been captured from the enemy, they referred to the college of pontiffs, to decide which of them were sacred and which profane. In view of these decrees the Campanians were much sadder when dismissed than when they had come to Rome. And no longer did they lay the blame upon the harshness of Quintus Fulvius towards them, but upon the partiality of the gods and their accursed fortune.

XXXV. The Sicilians and Campanians having been sent away, a levy was held. Then, once an army had been enrolled, they began to take up the question of recruiting more oarsmen. For this purpose, inasmuch as there was neither a sufficient supply of men, nor any money at that time in the treasury out of which they might be procured and receive their pay, the consuls in an edict ordered that private citizens according to their census and classes, as before,<sup>1</sup> should furnish oarsmen, with pay and rations for thirty days. In response to that edict there was such protest among the people, such indignation, that what was lacking for an uprising was a leader rather than fuel. Next after the Sicilians and Campanians the consuls, they said, had taken upon themselves the task of ruining and destroying the Roman populace. Exhausted by tribute for so many years, they had nothing left

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nudam ac vastam habere. Tecta hostis incendisse, servos agri cultores rem publicam abduxisse, nunc ad militiam parvo aere emendo, nunc remiges  
 6 imperando; si quid cui argenti aerisve fuerit, stipendio remigum et tributis annuis ablatum. Se ut dent quod non habeant nulla vi, nullo imperio cogi posse. Bona sua venderent; in corpora quae reliqua essent saevirent; ne unde redimantur quidem  
 7 quicquam superesse. Haec non in occulto, sed propalam in foro atque oculis ipsorum consulum  
 8 ingens turba circumfusi fremebant; nec eos sedare consules nunc castigando, nunc consolando poterant. Spatium deinde iis tridui se dare ad cogitandum dixerunt; quo ipsi ad rem inspiciendam et expe-  
 9 diendam<sup>1</sup> usi sunt. Senatum postero die habuerunt de remigum supplemento; ubi cum multa disseruissent cur aequa plebis recusatio esset, verterunt orationem eo ut dicerent privatis id seu aequum seu  
 10 iniquum onus iniungendum esse; nam unde, cum pecunia in aerario non esset, paraturos navalis socios? Quo modo autem sine classibus aut Siciliam obtineri aut Italia Philippum arceri posse aut tuta Italiae litora esse?

XXXVI. Cum in hac difficultate rerum consilium haereret, ac prope torpor quidam occupasset hominum mentes, tum Laevinus consul: magistratus

<sup>1</sup> et expediendam *Alschefski*: -damque *K Aldus, Froben*: -dam *P(1)J*.

<sup>1</sup> For the emergency tax (direct) cf. XXIII. xxxi. 1 and xlviii. 8. Normally citizens were exempt from this *tributum*. It was regarded as a forced loan, to be repaid later, e.g. after a triumph in 187 B.C.; XXXIX. vii. 5.

but the land, bare and desolate. Their houses had  
 been burned by the enemy, the slaves who tilled the soil had been taken away by the state, now by purchase at a low price for military service, now by impressing them as oarsmen. If a man had any money in silver or bronze, it had been taken away for the pay of oarsmen and the yearly taxes.<sup>1</sup> As for themselves, they could not be compelled by any force, by any authority, to give what they did not have. Let their property be sold, let their bodies—all that remained—be harshly treated; not even for the purposes of a ransom was anything left to them. Such were the complaints of a great multitude, not in secret, but openly in the Forum and even before the eyes of the consuls, as they flocked about them. And the consuls, now upbraiding, now consoling, were unable to quiet them. Thereupon they said that they gave the people three days for reflection, a time which they themselves employed in looking into the matter and seeking a solution. The following day they held a session of the senate on the recruiting of more oarsmen. There, after setting forth many reasons why refusal on the part of the populace was fair, they so far altered their language as to say that the burden, whether fair or unfair, must be laid upon private citizens. For from what source were they to get crews, when there was no money in the treasury? And without fleets how could either Sicily be held, or Philip kept away from Italy, or the coasts of Italy be safe?

XXXVI. When in this difficult situation wisdom faltered, and a kind of lethargy had almost taken possession of men's minds, Laevinus, the consul, said that, as magistrates are superior to the senate in



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senatui et senatum populo, sicut honore praestent,<sup>1</sup>  
 ita ad omnia quae dura atque aspera essent subeunda  
 3 duces<sup>2</sup> debere esse. "Si, quod<sup>3</sup> iniungere inferiori  
 velis, id prius in te ac tuos<sup>4</sup> ipse iuris statueris, facilius  
 omnis oboedientis habeas. Nec impensa gravis est,  
 cum ex ea<sup>5</sup> plus quam pro virili parte sibi quemque  
 4 capere principum vident. Itaque classes si<sup>6</sup> habere  
 atque ornare volumus populum Romanum, privatos  
 sine recusatione remiges dare, nobismet ipsis pri-  
 5 mum imperemus. Aurum, argentum, aes<sup>7</sup> signa-  
 tum omne senatores crastino die in publicum confe-  
 ramus, ita ut anulos sibi quisque et coniugi et liberis,  
 et filio bullam, et quibus uxor filiaeve sunt singulas  
 6 uncias pondo auri relinquant; argenti qui curuli  
 sella sederunt equi ornamenta et libras pondo, ut  
 salinum patellamque deorum causa habere possint;  
 7 ceteri senatores libram argenti tantum; aeris  
 signati quina milia in singulos patres familiae re-  
 8 linquamus: ceterum omne aurum, argentum, aes  
 signatum ad triumphos mensarios extemplo de-  
 feramus nullo ante senatus consulto facto, ut volun-  
 taria conlatio et certamen adiuvandae rei publicae  
 excitet ad aemulandum animos primum equestris  
 9 ordinis, dein reliquae plebis. Hanc unam viam

<sup>1</sup> praestent *P(3)*: praestet *A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben, Conway*: praestitit *MBD*.

<sup>2</sup> duces *Crévier*: ducem *P(1)JK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>3</sup> quod *Madvig*: quid *P(3)R<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>4</sup> tuos, here a second *si* is added in *A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*; not in *P(1)* or *Madvig*.

<sup>5</sup> ex ea *z Madvig*: ea *P(1)z*: eam *A<sup>1</sup>JK*.

<sup>6</sup> classes *si Alschefski*: *si classes Madvig*: *classes P(1)JK*: ut classem *Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>7</sup> aes *z* (cf. § 8): om. *P(1)JK*.

dignity, and as the senate is superior to the people, A.C. 210  
 so ought they to be leaders in shouldering all  
 that was hard and drastic. "If there is a duty  
 which you wish to lay upon an inferior, and you first  
 set up the same obligation as against yourself and  
 your family, you more readily find everyone sub-  
 mitting. And the outlay is not burdensome, when  
 they see every prominent man taking upon himself  
 more than his share in it. Accordingly, if we wish  
 the Roman people to have fleets and equip them, and  
 private citizens to furnish oarsmen without protest,  
 let us first impose that upon ourselves. Gold, silver,  
 coined bronze, let us senators bring it all into the  
 treasury tomorrow, with the reservation that each is  
 to leave a ring for himself and for his wife and his  
 children, and a *bullā* for a son, and those who have a  
 wife or daughters may leave for each an ounce of  
 gold by weight. Of silver those who have occupied  
 curule chairs may leave horse-trappings<sup>1</sup> and one  
 pound each, so that they may keep a salt-cellar and a  
 saucer for offerings to the gods. The rest of the  
 senators may leave only a pound of silver. Of coined  
 bronze let us leave five thousand *asses* to each pater-  
 familias. All the rest of the gold, silver, coined  
 bronze let us forthwith deposit with the bank com-  
 missioners,<sup>2</sup> without first making any decree of the  
 senate, so that a voluntary contribution and com-  
 petition in helping the republic may stir up to rivalry,  
 first the spirit of the knightly order, and then of the  
 plebeians as well. This is the one way we consuls

<sup>1</sup> *I.e. phaleræ*, disks or medallions, a distinction here reserved for a small number of the senators; cf. XXII. lii. 5; XXX. xvii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXIV. xviii. 12; XXIII. xxi. 6.

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multa inter nos conlocuti consules invenimus; ingredimini dis bene iuvantibus. Res publica incolumis et privatas res facile salvas praestat; publica prodendo tua nequiquam serves."

- 10 In haec tanto animo consensum est ut gratiae  
11 ultro consulibus agerentur. Senatu inde misso pro se quisque aurum et<sup>1</sup> argentum et aes in publicum conferunt, tanto certamine iniecto ut prima aut<sup>2</sup> inter primos nomina sua vellent in publicis tabulis esse, ut nec triumviri accipiundo nec scribae referendo sufficerent. Hunc consensum senatus equester ordo est secutus, equestris ordinis plebs. Ita sine edicto, sine coercitione magistratus nec remige in supplementum nec stipendio res publica eguit; paratisque omnibus ad bellum consules in provincias profecti sunt.

- XXXVII. Neque aliud<sup>3</sup> tempus belli fuit quo Carthaginenses Romanique pariter variis casibus immixti<sup>4</sup> magis in ancipiti spe ac metu fuerint.  
2 Nam Romanis et in provinciis, hinc in Hispania adversae res, hinc prosperae in Sicilia luctum et  
3 laetitiam miscuerant; et in Italia cum Tarentum amissum damno et dolori, tum arx cum praesidio  
4 retenta praeter spem gaudio fuit; et terrorem subitum pavoremque urbis Romae obsessae et oppugnatae Capua post dies paucos capta in laetitiam  
5 vertit. Transmarinae quoque res quadam vice

<sup>1</sup> et C: om. P(3)JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> aut Madvig: ut P: om. P<sup>2</sup>(1)JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>3</sup> aliud Kz Perizonius: aliud magis P(1)J Aldus, Froben.

<sup>4</sup> immixti MA<sup>2</sup>JKz Madvig: immixtis P(3)M<sup>1</sup> Aldus, Weissenborn.

<sup>1</sup> For the ultimate repayment of all these voluntary loans cf. XXIX. xvi. 1-3; XXXI. xiii. 2 ff.

have found, after conferring together at length; B.C. 210 enter upon it with the kind aid of the gods! The commonwealth, if preserved, easily assures the preservation of private wealth also. In betraying what belongs to the commonwealth one tries in vain to save one's own possessions."

To these words agreement was so spirited that they actually thanked the consuls. The senate then adjourned, and each man brought his own gold and silver and bronze into the treasury, while such rivalry was aroused to have their names the first or among the first men on the public records, that neither were the commissioners equal to the task of receiving nor the clerks to that of making the entries. The knightly order followed this unanimity of the senate, the populace that of the knights.<sup>1</sup> Thus without an edict, without constraint on the part of any magistrate, the state lacked neither oarsmen to fill the complement nor their pay; also every preparation for war being complete, the consuls set out for their provinces.

XXXVII. And there was no other time in the war when Carthaginians and Romans, equally involved in changing fortunes, were in a more uncertain state of hope and fear. That is, for the Romans, in the provinces, defeat in Spain on the one hand, success in Sicily on the other, had mingled sorrow and rejoicing; so also in Italy the capture of Tarentum brought loss and grief, while the retention of the citadel and garrison contrary to expectation brought joy. And the sudden alarm and panic when the city of Rome was beset and attacked was turned into gladness by the taking of Capua a few days later. Overseas also were events balanced with a certain alternation:

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pensatae: Philippus hostis tempore haud satis opportuno factus, Aetoli novi adsciti socii Attalusque Asiae rex, iam velut<sup>1</sup> despondente fortuna Romanis imperium orientis. Carthaginienses quoque Capuae amissae Tarentum captum aequabant, et ut ad moenia urbis Romanae nullo prohibente se pervenisse in gloria ponebant, ita pigebat inriti incepti, pudebat-  
7 que adeo se spretos ut sedentibus ipsis ad Romana moenia alia porta exercitus Romanus in Hispaniam  
8 duceretur. Ipsae quoque Hispaniae quo propius spem venerant tantis duobus ducibus exercitibusque caesis debellatum ibi ac pulsos inde Romanos esse, eo plus ab L. Marcio, tumultuario duce, ad vanum et inritum victoriam redactam esse indignationis  
9 praebebant. Ita aequante fortuna suspensa omnia utrisque<sup>2</sup> erant, integra spe, integro metu, velut illo tempore primum bellum inciperent.

XXXVIII. Hannibalem ante omnia angebat quod Capua pertinacius oppugnata ab Romanis quam defensa ab se multorum Italiae populorum animos aver-  
2 terat, quos neque omnis tenere praesidiis, nisi vellet in multas parvasque partis carpere exercitum, quod minime tum expediebat, poterat, nec deductis praesidiis spei liberam vel obnoxiam timori sociorum relin-  
3 quere fidem. Praeceptis in avaritiam et crudelitatem

<sup>1</sup> velut *AJK Froben* 1: vel *P(3) Aldus*; *om. M.*

<sup>2</sup> utrisque *M<sup>7</sup>*: utriusque *P(1)*: utrinque *A<sup>7</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>1</sup> But this rhetorical balance does not do justice to Hannibal's sense of what he had lost in the fall of Capua. Cf. xxxviii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* that they might gain the favour of the winning side.

Philip's turning enemy at an inopportune moment, *B.C.* 210 the addition of the Aetolians and Attalus, King of Asia, as new allies, just as if fortune were now pledging to the Romans rule over the East. The Carthaginians likewise balanced the capture of Tarentum against the loss of Capua;<sup>1</sup> and although they made it their boast that they had reached the walls of the city of Rome with no one preventing, yet they were annoyed at the failure of their undertaking and ashamed to find themselves so scorned that, while they were sitting before the walls of Rome, out of another gate marched a Roman army bound for Spain. As for their Spanish provinces, the nearer they had come to the hope that, after the slaughter of two great commanders and armies, the war there was over and the Romans driven out, the more indignation did those very provinces arouse that the victory had been rendered null and void by Lucius Marcius, an emergency commander. Thus with Fortune maintaining the balance, there was general suspense for both sides, hope remaining unchanged, fear unchanged, as though they were then for the first time beginning the war.

XXXVIII. Hannibal was above all else distressed that Capua, besieged with more persistence by the Romans than it was defended by himself, had estranged from him many peoples in Italy, not all of whom could he hold by garrisons, unless he were willing to parcel out his army in many small detachments, which was not at all to his advantage at that time. Nor on the other hand could he by withdrawing his garrisons leave the loyalty of allies free to hope<sup>2</sup> or exposed to fear. Naturally inclined to greed and cruelty, his temperament favoured despoiling what

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animus ad spolianda quae tueri nequibat, ut vastata  
 4 hosti relinquerentur, inclinavit. Id foedum consilium  
 cum incepto, tum etiam exitu fuit. Neque enim  
 indigna patientium modo abalienabantur animi, sed  
 ceterorum etiam; quippe ad pluris exemplum quam  
 5 perpressio malorum<sup>1</sup> pertinebat. Nec consul Ro-  
 manus temptandis urbibus, sicunde spes aliqua se  
 ostendisset, deerat.  
 6 Salapiae principes erant Dasius et Blattius;  
 Dasius Hannibali amicus, Blattius quantum ex tuto  
 poterat rem Romanam fovebat et per occultos  
 nuntios spem prodicionis fecerat Marcello; sed sine  
 7 adiutore Dasio res transigi non poterat. Multum ac  
 diu cunctatus, et tum quoque magis inopia consilii  
 potioris quam spe effectus, Dasium appellat;<sup>2</sup> at  
 ille, cum ab re aversus, tum aemulo potentatus  
 8 inimicus, rem Hannibali aperit. Arcessito utroque  
 Hannibal cum pro tribunali quaedam ageret mox de  
 Blattio cogniturus, starentque summo populo  
 accusator et reus, Blattius de prodicione Dasium  
 9 appellat.<sup>3</sup> Enimvero ille, velut in manifesta re,  
 exclamat sub oculis Hannibalis secum de prodicione  
 agi. Hannibali atque eis qui aderant quo audacior  
 10 res erat, minus similis veri visa est: aemulationem  
 profecto atque odium esse, et id crimen adferri

<sup>1</sup> perpressio malorum *conj. Conway, a lost line: om. P(1), K omitting quam also: calamitas Aldus, Froben, Madvig: pestis Harant: perniciēs Weissenborn.*

<sup>2</sup> appellat *Madvig: -abat P(1)JK Aldus, Conway.*

<sup>3</sup> appellat *Madvig, Emend., Conway: -abat P(1)JK Aldus, Madvig.*

<sup>1</sup> Between Arpi and Cannae, on a lake close to the Adriatic. Hannibal had once wintered there; XXIV. xx. 15; xlvii. 9. Cf. XXVII. i. 1 and xxviii. 5 ff. Later Sal(a)pia was removed

he was unable to protect, in order to leave desolated B.C. 210  
 lands to the enemy. That policy was shameful in  
 the beginning, and especially so in the outcome.  
 For not only were those who suffered undeserved  
 treatment alienated, but all the rest as well; for the  
 lesson reached larger numbers than did the suffer-  
 ing. Nor did the Roman consul fail to work upon  
 the feelings of cities, if any hope had showed itself  
 from any quarter.

At Salapia<sup>1</sup> Dasius and Blattius were leading  
 citizens. Dasius was friendly to Hannibal, Blattius  
 promoted the Roman cause so far as he safely could,  
 and through secret messengers had roused in Mar-  
 cellus a hope of betrayal. But without the aid of  
 Dasius the matter could not be carried out. After  
 much hesitation for a long time, and even then rather  
 owing to the lack of a better plan than with the hope  
 of success, he addressed himself to Dasius. But  
 Dasius, being not only averse to the project, but also  
 unfriendly to one who was his rival for the highest  
 position, disclosed the matter to Hannibal. When  
 both had been summoned, and Hannibal on the  
 tribune was occupied with certain business, intending  
 presently to hear the case of Blattius, and accuser and  
 defendant were standing there, while the crowd had  
 been cleared away, Blattius addressed himself to  
 Dasius on the treason. Dasius, to be sure, as  
 though the evidence was clear, cried out that before  
 Hannibal's eyes he was being urged to turn traitor.  
 To Hannibal and his assessors the matter seemed  
 less credible as being so bold. It was only their  
 rivalry and hatred surely, they said, and the charge

to a healthier situation and by cutting a canal became a sea-  
 port; Vitruvius I. iv. 12; Strabo VI. iii. 9.

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- quod, quia testem habere non posset,<sup>1</sup> liberius fingenti  
 11 esset. Ita<sup>2</sup> inde dimissi sunt. Nec Blattius ante  
 abstinit tam audaci incepto quam idem obtundendo,  
 docendoque quam ea res ipsis patriaeque salutaris  
 esset, pervicit ut praesidium Punicum—quingenti<sup>3</sup>  
 12 autem Numidae erant—Salapiaque traderetur Mar-  
 cello. Nec sine caede multa tradi potuit. Longe  
 fortissimi equitum toto Punico exercitu erant.  
 Itaque quamquam improvisa res fuit, nec usus  
 equorum in urbe erat, tamen armis inter tumultum  
 13 captis et eruptionem temptaverunt et, cum evadere  
 nequirent, pugnantes ad ultimum occubuerunt, nec  
 plus quinquaginta ex his<sup>4</sup> in potestatem hostium  
 14 vivi venerunt. Plusque aliquanto damni haec ala  
 equitum amissa Hannibali quam Salapia fuit;  
 nec deinde umquam Poenus, quo longe plurimum  
 valuerat, equitatu superior fuit.

XXXIX. Per idem tempus cum in arce Tarentina  
 vix inopia tolerabilis esset, spem omnem praesidium  
 quod ibi erat Romanum praefectusque praesidii atque  
 2 arcis M. Livius in comitatibus ab Sicilia missis habe-  
 3 bant, qui ut tuto praeterveherentur oram Italiae,  
 classis viginti ferme navium Regii stabat. Praeerat  
 classi comitatibusque D. Quinctius, obscuro genere  
 ortus, ceterum multis fortibus factis militari gloria  
 4 inlustris. Primo quinque naves, quarum maximae

<sup>1</sup> posset *P(1)JK Aldus*: possit *Madvig*.

<sup>2</sup> esset. Ita *A<sup>2</sup>JKx Conway*: sitia *P*: (-ti)s ita or (-ti) ita  
*P<sup>2</sup>(1)*.

<sup>3</sup> quingenti (=D) *Sigonius* from *Valerius Max.* III. viii.  
*Ext.* 1: om. *P(1)*: hii *A<sup>2</sup>J*: hi *Aldus, Froben*: ii *K*.

<sup>4</sup> his *P(1) Aldus, Froben*: hii *J*: iis *K*.

<sup>1</sup> It had been his for six years.

brought was of a sort in which the fabricator had the B.C. 210  
 more freedom because it could not have a witness.  
 So they were discharged. And Blattius did not desist  
 from so bold an undertaking until by dinning the  
 same story into his ears, and by showing how ad-  
 vantageous for themselves and their native city it was,  
 he prevailed upon Dasius to have the Carthaginian  
 garrison—now it consisted of five hundred Numidians  
 —and Salapia surrendered to Marcellus; and it  
 was not without much bloodshed that it could be  
 surrendered. They were far the bravest horsemen  
 in the entire Carthaginian army. Accordingly,  
 although the attack was unexpected, and they had  
 no use of their horses in the city, nevertheless  
 catching up their arms in the midst of the uproar,  
 they attempted a sally, and being unable to escape,  
 they fell fighting to the last, and not more than fifty  
 of them came alive into the hands of the enemy.  
 The loss of this regiment of cavalry was considerably  
 more serious for Hannibal than that of Salapia.<sup>1</sup>  
 And at no later time was the Carthaginian superior  
 in cavalry, in which had been easily his greatest  
 strength.

XXXIX. About the same time, when in the citadel  
 of Tarentum scarcity was barely endurable, the  
 Roman garrison posted there and Marcus Livius, the  
 commander of the garrison and citadel, had all their  
 hopes in supplies sent from Sicily; and that these  
 might safely pass along the coast of Italy, a fleet of  
 about twenty ships lay at anchor at Regium. Com-  
 manding the fleet and in charge of supplies was  
 Decimus Quinctius, a man of unknown family, but  
 made famous as a soldier by many brave deeds.  
 At first only five ships, of which the largest were two

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duae triremes, a Marcello ei traditae erant;<sup>1</sup> postea rem impigre saepe gerenti tres additae quinque-  
5 remes; postremo ipse a sociis Reginisque et a Velia et a Paesto debitas ex foedere exigendo, classem viginti  
6 navium, sicut ante dictum est, efficit. Huic ab Regio profectae classi Democrates cum pari navium Tarentinarum numero quindecim milia ferme ab  
7 urbe ad Sapriportem obvius fuit. Velis tum forte inprovidus futuri certaminis Romanus veniebat; sed circa Crotonem Sybarimque suppleverat remigio  
navis, instructamque et armatam egregie pro magnitudine navium classem habebat. Et tum forte  
8 sub idem<sup>2</sup> tempus et venti vis omnis cecidit et hostes in conspectu fuere, ut ad componenda armamenta expediendumque remigem ac militem ad  
9 imminens certamen satis temporis esset. Raro alias tantis animis iustae concurrerunt classes, quippe cum in maioris discrimen rei quam ipsae erant pug-  
10 narent, Tarentini, ut recuperata urbe ab Romanis post centesimum prope annum, arcem etiam liberarent, spe commeatus quoque hostibus, si navali proelio possessionem maris ademissent, interclusuros,<sup>3</sup>  
11 Romani, ut retenta possessione arcis ostenderent non vi ac virtute, sed proditione ac furto Tarentum amissum.

12 Itaque ex utraque parte signo dato cum rostris

<sup>1</sup> erant *P(1)JK Aldus, Froben*, but all add *habuit*.

<sup>2</sup> idem, *AJK Aldus, Froben* add *fero*.

<sup>3</sup> spe . . . interclusuros *P(3)*: *spem . . . interclusuri AJK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>1</sup> A Latin colony of 273 B.C., but a great part of its population were Greeks; still famous for its Doric temples.

<sup>2</sup> Its site has not been discovered.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* Thurii. Only here does Livy use the older name.

triremes, had been assigned to him by Marcellus. B.C. 210  
Later, as he repeatedly showed energy, three quinqueremes were added. Finally by personally demanding from the allies and from Regium and Velia and Paestum<sup>1</sup> the ships due under the treaty, he formed a fleet of twenty ships, as has been said above. This fleet had sailed from Regium when Democrates with an equal number of Tarentine ships met it off Sapriortis,<sup>2</sup> about fifteen miles from the city. At that time the Roman, as it happened, was approaching under sail, not foreseeing an impending battle. But in the neighbourhood of Croton and Sybaris<sup>3</sup> he had fully manned the ships with oarsmen, and had a fleet remarkably equipped and armed considering the size of the ships. And it happened then that about the same time the wind dropped entirely and the enemy came in sight, with the result that time enough was left to take down the rigging<sup>4</sup> and to get the oarsmen and soldiers ready for the battle that was imminent. Seldom have regular fleets ever clashed with such spirit, since they were fighting for a greater issue than themselves. The Tarentines, having regained their city from the Romans after almost a hundred years,<sup>5</sup> fought to free the citadel as well, in the hope that they would cut off the enemy's supplies also, if by a naval battle they should deprive them of their command of the sea; the Romans, in order to show by keeping their hold upon the citadel that Tarentum had been lost, not by force and courage, but by treachery and a surprise.

Accordingly after the signal had been given on

<sup>4</sup> Cf. XXI. xlix. 11.

<sup>5</sup> In reality only 62 years since its capture by the Romans, 272 B.C.

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- concurrissent neque retro navem inhiherent nec dirimi ab se hostem paterentur, quam quis indeptus navem erat ferrea iniecta manu, ita conserebant ex propinquo pugnam ut non missilibus tantum, sed gladiis etiam prope conlato pede gereretur res.
- 13 Prorae inter se iunctae haerebant, puppes alieno remigio circumagebantur. Ita in arto stipatae erant naves ut vix ullum telum in mari<sup>1</sup> vanum intercideret; frontibus velut pedestris<sup>2</sup> acies urge-
- 14 bant, perviaeque naves pugnantibus erant. Insignis tamen inter ceteras pugna fuit duarum quae primae
- 15 agminum concurrerant inter se. In Romana nave ipse Quinctius erat, in Tarentina Nico, cui Perconi fuit cognomen, non publico modo sed privato etiam odio invisus atque infestus Romanis, quod eius factionis erat quae Tarentum Hannibali prodiderat.
- 16 Hic Quinctium simul pugnantem hortantemque suos incautum hasta transfigit. Ille ut<sup>3</sup> praeceps cum
- 17 armis procidit ante proram, victor Tarentinus in turbatam duce amisso navem inpigre transgressus cum summovisset hostis, et prora iam Tarentinorum esset, puppim male conglobati tuerentur Romani, repente et alia a puppe triremis hostium apparuit;
- 18 ita in medio circumventa Romana navis capitur.

<sup>1</sup> mari P(1) Aldus, Froben : mare JK Forchhammer.<sup>2</sup> pedestris P(1)JK Aldus, Conway: pedestres Fabri, Madvig.<sup>3</sup> Ille ut A·JK Conway: ille atque P(1) Aldus, Froben: atque ille Ruperti, Madvig.

<sup>1</sup> The grappling-hook was attached to a stout chain. Cf. the *harpagones* (poles, each carrying an iron hook) similarly used in XXX. x. 16. Cf. XXXVI. xlv. 8; Frontinus *Strat.* II. iii. 24; Caesar *B.C.* I. lvii. 2; Pliny *N.H.* VII. 209.

both sides, and they had encountered each other B.C. 210 with their beaks and did not reverse their motion with oars nor allow the enemy to cast loose from them, a commander closing in on a ship would throw grappling-irons<sup>1</sup> on it, and they engaged in a battle at such close quarters that they fought not only with missiles, but also with swords, almost man to man. The bows in contact could not detach themselves, the sterns were swung about by the efforts of the enemy's oarsmen. So closely massed together were the ships that hardly a missile fell without effect between them into the sea. Forming each a front, like a battle-line on land, they tried to push each other back, and the ships were a highway for the combatants. Conspicuous, however, among all the rest was the battle between the two ships which had encountered each other at the head of the columns. On the Roman ship was Quinctius himself, on the Tarentine was Nico, surnamed Perco, who hated the Romans and was hated by them with a hatred that was not only national but also personal, because he was of the party which had betrayed Tarentum to Hannibal. As Quinctius was fighting and at the same time encouraging his men, Nico ran him through with a spear while off his guard. When Quinctius with his weapons fell forward over the bow, the victorious Tarentine boldly crossed over on to the ship thrown into confusion by the loss of its commander; and when he had driven the enemy back, and the bow was now in the hands of the Tarentines, while the Romans, massed together, were vainly defending the stern, suddenly another trireme of the enemy also appeared astern. Thus the Roman ship was caught between them and captured. Con-

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Hinc ceteris terror iniectus, ubi<sup>1</sup> praetoriam navem captam videre; fugientesque passim aliae in alto mersae, aliae in terram remis abreptae mox praedae  
 19 fuere Thurinis Metapontinique. Ex onerariis, quae cum commeatu sequebantur, perpaucae in potestatem hostium venere; aliae ad incertos ventos hinc atque illinc obliqua transferentes vela in altum evectae sunt.  
 20 Nequaquam pari fortuna per eos dies Tarenti res gesta. Nam ad quattuor milia hominum frumenta-  
 21 tum egressa cum in agris passim vagarentur, Livius, qui arcis praesidioque Romano praeerat, intentus in omnis occasiones gerendae rei, C. Persium, inpi-  
 22 grum virum, cum duobus milibus et quingentis<sup>2</sup> armatorum ex arce emisit, qui vage effusos per agros palatosque adortus cum diu passim cecidisset, paucos ex multis, trepida fuga incidentis semiapertis portarum foribus, in urbem compulit, neque multum  
 23 afuit quin<sup>3</sup> urbs eodem impetu caperetur. Ita aequatae res ad Tarentum, Romanis victoribus terra, Tarentinis<sup>4</sup> mari. Frumenti spes, quae in oculis fuerat, utrosque frustrata pariter.

XL. Per idem tempus Laevinus consul, iam magna parte anni circumacta, in Siciliam veteribus novisque sociis exspectatus cum venisset, primum ac potissimum omnium ratus Syracusis nova pace inconditas

<sup>1</sup> ubi Wölflin: uti M<sup>3</sup> Conway: utin P(3): ut C<sup>3</sup>BDAJK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> et quingentis (=D) Alschevski: et P(3): om. BDAJK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>3</sup> neque multum afuit quin (after Alschevski) Madvig, a lost line: ne P(3)JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>4</sup> terra, Tarentinis z: terra x: om. P(1)J, a lost line: cartaginiensibus K: terra, Carthaginiensibus Conway.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 7 and note.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. for the Tarentines.

sequently alarm was inspired on the rest of the ships B.C. 210 when they saw the flagship captured. And as they fled in all directions, some were sunk in open water, others were quickly rowed to the shore and presently fell a prey to the men of Thurii<sup>1</sup> and Metapontum. Of the transports, which were following with the supplies, very few fell into the power of the enemy. The rest shifted their sails obliquely, now this way, now that, according to the variable winds, and put out to sea.

By no means so successful<sup>2</sup> was the fighting at Tarentum during those days. For while about four thousand men who had gone out to get grain were roaming about the country, Livius, who was in command of the citadel and the Roman garrison, was alert for every opportunity of an engagement. He sent out from the citadel Gaius Persius, an active man, with two thousand five hundred armed men. After Persius, attacking men widely dispersed over the farms and wandering about, had for a long time been slaying them everywhere, he drove the few survivors into the city, as in their excited flight they dashed into the half-opened gates. And by that same onslaught the city was all but taken. Thus were issues balanced near Tarentum, the Romans being victors on land, the Tarentines on the sea. The hope of grain—a hope which had been very real—was equally illusory for both sides.

XL. About the same time, when a large part of the year had already gone by, Laevinus, the consul, arrived in Sicily awaited by the old and the new allies. Accordingly he thought it of the very first importance to settle affairs that were in disorder at Syracuse owing to the short time since the peace.



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- 2 componere res, Agrigentum inde, quod belli reliquum erat tenebaturque a Carthaginiensium valido praesidio, duxit legiones. Et adfuit fortuna incepto.
- 3 Hanno erat imperator Carthaginiensium, sed omnem in Muttine Numidisque spem repositam habebant.
- 4 Per totam Siciliam vagus praedas agebat ex sociis Romanorum neque intercludi ab Agrigento vi aut arte ulla nec quin erumperet, ubi vellet, prohiberi poterat. Haec eius gloria quia iam imperatoris quoque famae officiebat, postremo in invidiam vertit, ut ne bene gestae quidem res iam Hannoni propter
- 6 auctorem satis laetae essent. Postremo<sup>1</sup> praefecturam eius filio sub dedit, ratus cum imperio auctoritatem quoque ei inter Numidas erepturum.
- 7 Quod longe aliter evenit; nam veterem favorem eius sua insuper invidia auxit; neque ille indignitatem iniuriae tulit confestimque ad Laevinum occultos nuntios misit de tradendo Agrigento.
- 8 Per quos ut est facta fides compositusque rei gerendae modus, portam ad mare ferentem Numidae cum occupassent pulsus inde custodibus aut caesis, Romanos ad id<sup>2</sup> ipsum missos in urbem acceperunt.
- 9 Et cum agmine iam in media urbis ac forum magno tumultu iretur, ratus Hanno non aliud quam tumultum ac secessionem, id quod et ante acciderat, Numidarum esse, ad comprimendam seditionem
- 10 processit. Atque ille, cum ei multitudo maior

<sup>1</sup> Postremo C<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup>B, also (with propter prefixed) P(3)B<sup>2</sup> and so (with propterea) A<sup>2</sup>: propterea JK: propter quae Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> id C<sup>4</sup> Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)JK.

<sup>1</sup> Below the colossal unfinished Temple of Zeus, about two miles from the sea at the mouth of the Hypsas (no real harbour); Polybius IX. xxvii. 2.

Then he led his legions to Agrigentum, being the last remnant of the war and held by a strong garrison of Carthaginians. And in fact fortune favoured the undertaking. Hanno was the general of the Carthaginians, but all their hope continued to rest upon Muttines and the Numidians. Roaming all over Sicily, Muttines was carrying off booty from allies of the Romans, and he could neither be shut off from Agrigentum by force or by any ruse, nor be prevented from sallying out whenever he pleased. This distinction of the man, as already eclipsing the reputation even of the general, finally developed into hatred, so that not even successes any longer brought much joy to Hanno on account of the man who was responsible for them. Finally he gave Muttines' command of the cavalry to his own son, thinking that with the command he would take away his prestige also among the Numidians. But it turned out quite differently. For by his own unpopularity he even increased the old-time partiality for Muttines. And the latter did not put up with a shameful wrong, but at once sent secret messengers to Laevinus in regard to the betrayal of Agrigentum. These men having reassured the consul and arranged a plan of action, the Numidians seized the gate leading toward the sea,<sup>1</sup> driving away or slaying the guards; whereupon they admitted Romans sent for that very purpose into the city. And when now they were marching in column into the centre of the city and to the market-place with a great uproar, Hanno, thinking it was nothing more than an outbreak and mutiny of the Numidians, as had happened before also, went forth to quell the uprising. But when he caught sight of a crowd in the distance larger than the number of the

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- quam Numidarum procul visa, et clamor Romanus  
 haudquaquam ignotus ad auris accidisset, priusquam  
 11 ad ictum teli veniret, capessit fugam. Per aversam  
 portam emissus adsumpto comite Epicyde cum paucis  
 ad mare pervenit, nactique opportune parvum  
 navigium, relictis hostibus Sicilia, de qua per tot  
 12 annos certatum erat, in Africam traiecerunt. Alia  
 multitudo Poenorum Siculorumque ne temptato  
 quidem certamine cum caeci in fugam ruerent  
 clausique exitus essent, circa portas caesa.  
 13 Oppido recepto Laevinus qui capita rerum Agri-  
 genti erant virgis caesos securi percussit, ceteros  
 praedamque vendidit; omnem pecuniam Romam  
 14 misit. Fama Agrigentini clavis Siciliam cum  
 pervasisset, omnia repente ad Romanos inclinaverunt.  
 Proditae brevi sunt viginti oppida, sex vi capta;  
 voluntaria deditione in fidem venerunt ad quadra-  
 15 ginta. Quarum civitatum principibus cum pro  
 cuiusque merito consul pretia<sup>1</sup> poenasque exsolvisset,  
 coegissetque Siculos positae tandem armis ad agrum  
 16 colendum animos convertere, ut esset non incolarum  
 modo alimentis frugifera insula, sed urbis Romae  
 atque Italiae, id quod multis saepe tempestatibus  
 fecerat, annonam levaret, ab Agathyrna inconditam  
 17 multitudinem secum in Italiam transvexit. Quat-  
 tuor milia hominum erant, mixti ex omni conlutione,  
 exsules, obaerati, capitalia ausi plerique, cum<sup>2</sup> in  
 civitatibus suis ac sub legibus vixerant, et postquam

<sup>1</sup> pretia P(3): praemia *AJK Aldus, Froben.*<sup>2</sup> cum *Madvig*: et cum P(1) *JK Aldus, Froben.*<sup>1</sup> Probably that to the east of the lofty citadel (1080 ft.),  
 and on the northeast side of the city.<sup>2</sup> He himself returned to Sicily; XXVII. v. 15.

Numidians, and the shouts of the Romans, by no means unfamiliar, had reached his ears, he took to flight before coming within range of a missile. Escaping by the gate farthest from the enemy<sup>1</sup> and taking Epicydes as his companion, with a few men he made his way to the sea. And fortunately finding a small vessel and leaving Sicily, for which the struggle had lasted so many years, to the enemy, they crossed over to Africa. While the rest of the Carthaginians and Sicilians in a body, without even attempting to fight, were blindly fleeing, and ways of escape had been closed, they were slain near the gates.

On gaining possession of the town, Laevinus scourged and beheaded the responsible men at Agrigentum, and sold the rest and the booty. All the money he sent to Rome. When the news of the disaster to the Agrigentines had been carried all over Sicily, suddenly there was a general trend towards the Romans. Soon after that, twenty towns were betrayed, six taken by assault; by voluntary surrender about forty came under Roman protection. After the consul had bestowed upon the leading men of these states the reward or the penalty that each deserved, and had compelled the Sicilians to lay down their arms at last and turn their attention to tilling the soil, so that the island might not only produce food enough for the inhabitants, but might relieve the grain market of the city of Rome and of Italy, as it had often done on many occasions, he took with him an unruly mob from Agathyrna over into Italy.<sup>2</sup> There were four thousand men, refuse of every kind, exiles, debtors, guilty, many of them, of capital offences, so long as they had lived in their own cities and under the laws; and they were dragging out an

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eos ex variis causis fortuna similis conglobaverat Agathyrnam, per latrocinia ac rapinam tolerantes  
18 vitam. Hos neque relinquere Laevinus in <sup>1</sup> insula tum primum nova pace coalescente velut materiam novandis rebus satis tutum ratus est, et Reginis usui futuri erant ad populandum Bruttium agrum aduetam latrociniiis quaerentibus manum. Et quod ad Siciliam attinet eo anno debellatum est.

XLI. In Hispania principio veris P. Scipio navibus deductis evocatisque edicto Tarraconem sociorum auxiliis classem onerariasque ostium inde Hiberi  
2 fluminis petere iubet. Eodem legiones ex hibernis convenire cum iussisset, ipse cum quinque milibus sociorum ab Tarracone profectus ad exercitum est. Quo cum venisset, adloquendos maxime veteres milites qui tantis superfuerunt <sup>2</sup> cladibus ratus,  
3 contione advocata ita disseruit: "Nemo ante me novus imperator militibus suis, priusquam opera eorum usus esset, gratias agere iure ac merito  
4 potuit: me vobis, priusquam provinciam aut castra viderem, obligavit fortuna, primum quod ea pietate erga patrem patruumque meum vivos mortuosque  
5 fuistis, deinde quod amissam tanta clade provinciae possessionem integram et populo Romano et successori  
6 mihi virtute vestra obtinuistis. Sed cum iam benignitate deum id paremus atque agamus, non ut ipsi maneamus in Hispania, sed ne Poeni maneant,

<sup>1</sup> in *C<sup>4</sup>M<sup>3</sup>A<sup>4</sup>* Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)JK.

<sup>2</sup> superfuerunt P(1)Jx: -fuerant K Aldus, Froben.

<sup>1</sup> Livy has expanded the speech found in his sources, such as that which Polybius puts in the mouth of Scipio (X. vi. 2 ff.).

existence by highway robbery and plundering, after B.C. 210 their common misery, for one reason or another, had concentrated them at Agathyrna. These men Laevinus did not think it quite safe to leave on the island, then for the first time attaining unity under the recent peace, as they furnished fuel for a revolution, and at the same time would prove useful to the men of Regium, who were looking for a band accustomed to brigandage, in order to devastate the Bruttian territory. And so far as concerned Sicily the war was finished that year.

XLI. In Spain at the beginning of spring Publius Scipio launched his ships, and after summoning the allied auxiliaries to Tarraco by an edict, he ordered the fleet and the transports to sail thence to the mouth of the river Ebro. Having ordered the legions to leave their winter quarters and meet at the same point, he himself with five thousand allies set out from Tarraco to join the army. Arrived there, and thinking he must address particularly the old soldiers, survivors of defeats so serious, he summoned the men to an assembly and spoke as follows: <sup>1</sup> "No new general in command before me has been able with reason and deservedly to thank his soldiers before he had made use of their services. In my case, before I could see my province or camp, Fortune laid me under obligation to you, in the first place because you have showed such devotion towards my father and uncle, living and dead, and then because, when possession of the province had been lost by so great a disaster, you by your courage have held it intact both for me as their successor and for the Roman people. But now with the favour of the gods we are preparing and striving, not to remain in Spain our-

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- nec ut pro ripa Hiberi stantes arceamus transitu hostes, sed ut ultro transeamus transferamusque  
 7 bellum, vereor ne cui vestrum maius id audaciusque consilium quam aut pro memoria cladium nuper  
 8 acceptarum aut pro aetate mea videatur. Adversae pugnae in Hispania nullius in animo quam meo minus obliterari possunt, quippe cui pater et patruus intra triginta dierum spatium, ut aliud super aliud cumlaretur familiae nostrae funus, interfecti  
 9 sunt; sed ut familiaris paene orbitas ac solitudo frangit animum, ita publica cum fortuna tum virtus desperare de summa rerum prohibet. Ea fato quodam data<sup>1</sup> nobis sors est ut magnis omnibus bellis victi vicerimus.
- 10 "Vetera omitto, Porsennam,<sup>2</sup> Gallos, Samnites: a Punicis bellis incipiam. Quot classes, quot duces,  
 11 quot exercitus priore bello amissi sunt! Iam quid hoc bello memorem? Omnibus aut ipse adfui cladibus aut quibus afui, maxime unus omnium eas sensi. Trebia, Trasumennus, Cannae quid aliud sunt quam monumenta occisorum exercituum con-  
 12 sulumque Romanorum? Adde defectionem Italiae, Siciliae maioris partis, Sardiniae; adde ultimum terrorem ac pavorem, castra Punica inter Anienem ac moenia Romana posita et visum prope in portis victorem Hannibalem. In hac ruina rerum stetit una integra atque immobilis virtus populi Romani;

<sup>1</sup> data *Gronovius*: nata *P(3)*: (quo) donata *JKx Aldus, Froben*: innata *A<sup>1</sup>*.

<sup>2</sup> Porsennam *P<sup>1</sup>(3)C<sup>4</sup>Jx*: -sinam *P (probably)*: -senam *Kx*.

selves, but to prevent the Carthaginians from B.C. 210 remaining, and not to stand on the bank of the Ebro and keep the enemy from crossing, but taking the offensive to cross over and shift the scene of the war. Consequently I am afraid that that design may seem to some of you too great and too bold to be in keeping either with the memory of disasters recently incurred or with my years. As for the reverses in Spain, there is no man from whose mind it is less possible for them to be effaced than from mine, for my father and uncle fell within the space of thirty days, that for our family one fatality might be piled upon another. But although within the family it is crushing to be all but orphaned and left desolate, yet the destiny of the state and her courage forbid me to despair of the final issue. It is a lot assigned to us by some fate that in all the great wars we have been first defeated and then victorious.

"Ancient examples I pass over, Porsenna, the Gauls, the Samnites. I shall begin with the Punic Wars. How many fleets, how many generals, how many armies were lost in the former war! And now in the present war what shall I say has happened? In every disaster I was either present myself, or if absent, I above all others felt them. Trebia, Trasumennus, Cannae, what are they but memorials of Roman armies and consuls fallen? Add the revolt of Italy, of the greater part of Sicily, of Sardinia; add that extreme of alarm and panic, a Carthaginian camp pitched between the Anio and the walls of Rome, and the sight of a victorious Hannibal almost at the gates. In this general crash the one thing left standing, intact and immovable, was the courage of the Roman people. It was this that raised and

- 13 haec omnia strata humi crexit ac sustulit. Vos omnium primi, milites, post Cannensem cladem vadenti Hasdrubali ad Alpis Italiamque, qui si se cum fratre coniunxisset, nullum iam nomen esset populi Romani, ductu auspicioque patris mei obstitistis; et hae secundae res illas adversas sustinuerunt.
- 14 Nunc benignitate deum omnia secunda, prospera, in dies laetiora ac meliora in Italia Siciliaque geruntur.
- 15 In Sicilia Syracusae, Agrigentum captum, pulsi tota insula hostes, receptaque provincia in dicionem<sup>1</sup> populi Romani est: in Italia Arpi recepti, Capua
- 16 capta. Iter omne ab urbe Roma trepida fuga emensus Hannibal, in extremum angulum agri Bruttii compulsus nihil iam maius precatur deos quam ut incolumi cedere atque abire ex hostium terra liceat.
- 17 Quid igitur minus conveniat, milites, quam, cum aliae super alias clades cumlarentur ac di prope ipsi cum Hannibale starent, vos hic cum parentibus meis—aequentur enim etiam honore nominis—sustinuisse labantem fortunam populi Romani, nunc eosdem, cum iam<sup>2</sup> illic omnia secunda laetaque
- 18 sunt,<sup>3</sup> animis deficere? Nuper quoque quac<sup>4</sup> acciderunt utinam tam sine meo luctu quam . . .<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> dicionem *Aldus, Luchs*: -ione *P(1)JKxz Madvig*.

<sup>2</sup> cum iam (ou iā) *Madvig*: quia *P(1) Aldus, Froben, Riemann, Conway*: cum z *J. H. Voss*.

<sup>3</sup> sunt, for this *JK* and one *x* have sint.

<sup>4</sup> quae *A\*JKz Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)*.

<sup>5</sup> Here begins in *P(1)N* the long lacuna extending to xliii. 8. The missing text is almost completely preserved for us in *A\*JKz Aldus and Froben*, having been supplied from the *Spirensis*, in which the passage, misplaced in book XXVII, was found by *Rhenanus*.

set up all the scattered debris. When Hasdrubal A.C. 210 after the rout at Cannae was on his way to the Alps and Italy—and if he had joined his brother even the name of the Roman people would be no more—you were the very first, soldiers, to stand in his path under the command and auspices of my father. And victory here has upheld defeats there. Now by the favour of the gods everything in Italy and Sicily is flourishing and successful, more cheering and better from day to day. In Sicily Syracuse and Agrigentum<sup>1</sup> have been captured, the enemy driven out of the entire island, and the recovered province is under the rule of the Roman people. In Italy Arpi has been recovered, Capua taken. The entire road from the city of Rome has been traversed in nervous flight by Hannibal, who, driven into that remotest region, the Bruttian land, now prays the gods for nothing greater than that he may be allowed to retire in safety and leave the enemy's country. What therefore is less consistent, soldiers, than that, while disasters were being piled one upon another and the gods themselves, one might almost say, were on Hannibal's side, you here under my fathers—for let them be coupled in that honourable name also—upheld the wavering fortune of the Roman people, but that at present, when in Italy everything is now favourable and encouraging, you, the same men, should be faint-hearted? Recent occurrences also I could wish had been as free from sorrow for me as . . .<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In reality the capture of Agrigentum occurred late in the summer (xl *init.*), while the speech is imagined to have been delivered in the spring.

<sup>2</sup> Lost is the end of this paragraph and the beginning of the next.

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“ . . . Nunc dii immortales imperii Romani praesides, qui centuriis omnibus ut mihi imperium iuberent dari fuere auctores, iidem auguriis auspiciisque et per nocturnos etiam visus omnia laeta ac prospera  
 19 portendunt. Animus quoque meus, maximus mihi ad hoc tempus vates, praesagit nostram Hispaniam esse, brevi extorre hinc omne Punicum nomen maria  
 20 terrasque foeda fuga impleturum. Quod mens sua sponte divinat, idem subicit ratio haud fallax. Vexati ab iis socii nostram fidem per legatos implorant; tres duces discordantes, prope ut defecerint alii ab aliis, trifariam exercitum in diversissimas  
 21 regiones distraxere. Eadem in illos ingruit fortuna quae nuper nos adflixit; nam et deseruntur ab sociis, ut prius ab Celtiberis nos, et diduxere exercitus,  
 22 quae patri patruoque meo causa exitii fuit. Nec discordia intestina coire eos in unum sinet, neque singuli nobis resistere poterunt. Vos modo, milites, favete nomini Scipionum, suboli imperatorum vestro-  
 23 rum velut accisis recrescenti stirpibus. Agite, veteres milites, novum exercitum novumque ducem traducite Hiberum, traducite in terras cum multis fortibus  
 24 factis saepe a vobis peragratas. Brevi faciam ut, quem ad modum nunc noscitis in me patris patruique similitudinem oris vultusque et lineamenta  
 25 corporis, ita ingenii, fidei virtutisque effigiem<sup>1</sup> vobis reddam, ut revixisse aut renatum sibi quisque Scipionem imperatorem dicat.”

<sup>1</sup> effigiem *Hertz*: exemplum ef- *AJKx*: exemplum ac ef- *Aldus*, *Froben*.

<sup>1</sup> In Polybius' briefer speech Scipio stresses this point (X. vi. 5; vii. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXV. xxxiii; Polybius *l.c.* vi. 2.

“ . . . Now the immortal gods, who are protectors of the Roman empire, who inspired all the centuries of the people to order that the command be bestowed upon me, by auguries, auspices and even visions in the night are likewise forecasting only joy and success. My own mind as well, heretofore my greatest soothsayer, foresees that Spain is ours, that soon all the Carthaginians, banished from here, will cover seas and lands with their disgraceful flight. What the mind of itself divines undeluded reasoning also suggests. Harassed by them their allies through embassies are begging for our help. Three generals, unable to agree,<sup>1</sup> so that they have almost proved disloyal to each other, have dispersed their army in three parts in widely scattered regions. The same fortune which lately crushed us is assailing them. For they are being deserted by their allies, as formerly were we by the Celtiberians,<sup>2</sup> and also they have separated their armies, which was the cause of destruction for my father and uncle. Neither will internal strife permit them to unite, nor will they be able singly to resist us. Only do you, soldiers, look with favour upon the name of the Scipios, upon the scion of your generals, growing again, as it were, from stems that have been cut down. Come now, veterans, lead a new army and a new commander across the Ebro, lead them over into lands often traversed by you with many deeds of bravery. Just as now you note in me a resemblance to my father and uncle in face and countenance and recognize the lines of the figure, so I will soon take pains to reproduce for you an image of their minds, of their loyalty and courage, so that each man shall say that there has come back to life, or has been born again, his general Scipio.”

XLII. Hac oratione accensis militum animis, relicto  
ad praesidium regionis eius M. Silano cum tribus  
milibus peditum et trecentis equitibus, ceteras omnes  
copias—erant autem viginti quinque milia peditum,  
duo milia quingenti equites—Hiberum traiecit.  
2 Ibi quibusdam suadentibus ut, quoniam in tris tam  
diversas regiones discessissent Punici exercitus, proxi-  
mum adgrederetur, periculum esse ratus ne eo facto  
in unum omnes contraheret, nec par esset unus tot  
exercitibus, Carthaginem Novam interim oppugnare  
3 statuit, urbem cum ipsam opulentam suis opibus, tum  
hostium omni bellico apparatu plenam—ibi arma,  
ibi pecunia, ibi totius Hispaniae obsides erant—,  
4 sitam praeterea cum opportune ad traiciendum  
in Africam, tum super portum satis amplum  
quantaevs classi et nescio an unum in Hispaniae  
5 ora qua nostro adiacet mari. Nemo omnium quo  
iretur sciebat praeter C. Laelium. Is classe cir-  
cummissus ita moderari cursum navium iussus  
erat ut eodem tempore Scipio ab terra exercitum  
6 ostenderet et classis portum intraret. Septimo die  
ab Hiberno Carthaginem ventum est simul terra  
marique. Castra ab regione urbis qua in septem-  
trionem versa est posita; his ab tergo—nam frons  
7 natura tuta erat—vallum<sup>1</sup> obiectum. Etenim<sup>2</sup> sita

<sup>1</sup> vallum *Rhenanus, Froben* 2: nullum *Sp*: nullum vallum  
*AJKx Aldus*: duplex vallum *Schellius from Polybius X. ix. 7, Weissenborn.*

<sup>2</sup> Etenim *SpfA Froben* 2: ceterum *JKx Aldus.*

<sup>1</sup> Five hundred in *Polybius l.c. vi. 7.*

<sup>2</sup> *Polybius* gives the same figures, ix. 6 f.

<sup>3</sup> Six days for the march is incredible, since the distance is 2600 stadia (325 miles) according to *Polybius III. xxxix. 6,* or 298 miles in the *Antonine Itinerary.*

XLII. Having fired the spirits of the soldiers by B.C. 210  
this speech, and leaving for the defence of the region  
Marcus Silanus with three thousand infantry and  
three hundred<sup>1</sup> horsemen, all the rest of the forces—  
and they were twenty-five thousand infantry and two  
thousand five hundred cavalry<sup>2</sup>—he led across the  
Ebro. There, although some tried to persuade him  
that, since the Carthaginian armies had withdrawn  
into three regions so widely scattered, he should  
attack the nearest of them, he thought there was  
danger that by doing so he might cause them all to  
concentrate and one army might not be a match for  
so many armies. Consequently he decided mean-  
while to lay siege to New Carthage, a city both itself  
rich in its own resources and filled with the enemy's  
warlike equipment of every kind. There were his  
arms, there his money, there hostages from all Spain.  
Furthermore the city was not only situated favour-  
ably for the passage to Africa, but also on a harbour  
ample enough for the greatest fleet, and perhaps the  
only port on the coast of Spain where it faces our  
sea. Not a man except Gaius Laelius knew whither  
they were going. He was sent with the fleet round  
the headlands, under previous orders so to regulate  
the speed of his ships that Scipio might display his  
army on the landward side at the same time that the  
fleet was entering the harbour. On the seventh day  
from the Ebro they reached (New) Carthage by sea  
and land at the same time.<sup>3</sup> Camp was pitched  
opposite the city where it faces the north.<sup>4</sup> At the  
rear of the camp—for the front was protected by  
nature—an earthwork was thrown up. For the

<sup>4</sup> Rather the eastern side.

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Carthago sic est : sinus est maris media fere Hispaniae ora, maxime Africo vento oppositus, ad duo milia<sup>1</sup> et quingentos passus introrsus retractus, paulo<sup>2</sup> plus passuum mille et ducentos<sup>3</sup> in latitudinem patens. Huius in ostio sinus parva insula obiecta ab alto portum ab omnibus ventis praeterquam Africo tutum facit. Ab intimo sinu paeninsula excurrit, tumulus is ipse in quo condita urbs est, ab ortu solis et a meridie cincta mari; ab occasu stagnum claudit paulum etiam ad septemtrionem fusum, incertae altitudinis utcumque exaestuatur aut deficit<sup>4</sup> mare. Continenti urbem iugum ducentos fere et quinquaginta passus patens coniungit. Unde cum tam parvi operis munitio esset, non obiecit vallum imperator Romanus, seu fiduciam hosti superbe ostentans, sive ut subeunti saepe ad moenia urbis recursus pateret.

XLIII. Cetera quae munienda erant cum perfecisset, naves etiam in portu, velut maritimam quoque ostentans obsidionem, instruxit; circumvectusque classem cum monuisset praefectos navium ut vigilias nocturnas intenti<sup>5</sup> servarent, omnia ubique primo obsessum hostem conari, regressus in

<sup>1</sup> ad duo milia supplied by Sigonius from Polybius X. x. 1.

<sup>2</sup> paulo A<sup>1</sup>JKx Aldus : paululo Sp<sup>1</sup> Froben 2.

<sup>3</sup> mille et ducentos supplied by Madvig from Polybius l.c.

<sup>4</sup> aut deficit Sp<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> Froben 2 : om. JKx Aldus.

<sup>5</sup> intenti Sp Froben 2 : interim A<sup>1</sup>JKx Aldus.

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, who had visited the place, gives a fuller description (X. x.), to which Livy is directly or indirectly indebted, reproducing the mistaken orientation of the city. Cf. H. H. Scullard, *Scipio Africanus*, pp. 289 ff. The city and its brilliant capture must have been fully treated in Plutarch's lost life of Scipio.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius' orientation of the bay was correct.

situation of (New) Carthage is as follows : <sup>1</sup> there is an arm of the sea about half-way down the coast of Spain, a bay that mainly faces the southwest wind <sup>2</sup> and makes inland about two miles and a half, with a breadth of little more than a mile and one-fifth. At the mouth of this bay a small island facing the harbour on the seaward side makes it safe from all winds except the southwest. From the innermost part of the bay a peninsula runs out, the very hill on which the city was built, skirted by sea on the east <sup>3</sup> and the south.<sup>4</sup> On the west <sup>4</sup> a lagoon hems the city in, extending somewhat to the north <sup>4</sup> also; it is of varying depth according as the sea is coming in or going out.<sup>5</sup> With the mainland a ridge about two hundred and fifty paces wide connects the city. Although fortification on this side would have involved so little labour, the Roman commander did not throw up an earthwork, whether as proudly displaying his confidence to the enemy, or that, as he repeatedly approached the walls of the city, retirement might be open to him.

XLIII. Having completed such other works of fortification as were necessary, he drew up the ships also in the harbour, as though to display a blockade from the sea as well. And making the round of the fleet he reminded the commanders of the vessels to keep a close watch at night, saying that a blockaded enemy at first makes every attempt wherever pos-

<sup>2</sup> Really south, since these points of the compass must be corrected clockwise almost 90 degrees.

<sup>4</sup> Making the necessary corrections, S = W, W = N, N = E.

<sup>5</sup> Explained as caused by winds, not as Polybius, Livy and Appian thought, by tides; for there is no tide on the east coast of Spain. Cf. Scullard, *op. cit.* pp. 78 f.



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castra, ut consilii sui rationem, quod ab urbe potissimum oppugnanda bellum orsus esset, militibus ostenderet et spem potiundae cohortando faceret, 3 contione advocata ita disseruit: "Ad urbem unam oppugnandam si quis vos adductos credit, is magis operis vestri quam emolumenti rationem exactam, milites, habet. Oppugnabitis enim vere moenia unius urbis, sed in una urbe universam ceperitis 4 Hispaniam. Hic sunt obsides omnium nobilium regum populorumque; qui simul in potestate vestra erunt, extemplo omnia quae nunc sub Carthaginiensibus 5 sunt in dicionem tradent; hic pecunia omnis hostium, sine qua neque illi gerere bellum possunt, quippe qui mercenarios exercitus alant, et quae nobis <sup>1</sup> maximo usui ad conciliandos animos barbarorum 6 erit; hic tormenta, arma, omnis apparatus belli est, qui simul et <sup>2</sup> vos instruet et hostis nudabit. 7 Potiemur praeterea cum pulcherrima opulentissimaque urbe, tum opportunissima portu egregio unde terra marique quae belli usus poscunt suppeditentur. Quae cum magna ipsi habebimus, tum 8 dempserimus hostibus multo maiora. Haec illis arx, hoc horreum, aerarium, armamentarium, hoc omnium rerum receptaculum est; huc rectus ex Africa cursus est; haec una inter Pyrenaeum et Gadis statio; hinc omni Hispaniae imminet Africa . . ."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> nobis *Aldus, Froben*: vobis *A<sup>1</sup>JKz*.

<sup>2</sup> et *Sp<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> Froben 2*: om. by the rest.

<sup>3</sup> Here ends the passage from the *Spirensis*, replacing two leaves lost out of *P* (or its archetype); cf. xli. 18. To fill the following gap other MSS. (*Aldus* also and *Froben*) have several lines of indifferent text, obviously not genuine. No further readings of *Spirensis* are known until xlv. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Lost is the conclusion of Scipio's speech, probably including rewards promised for bravery, and stating that

sible. He then returned to the camp to explain to the soldiers the reason for his plan, in having elected to begin the campaign with the siege of a city, and in order that by encouraging them he might inspire the hope of its capture, called an assembly, and spoke as follows: "If any man believes that you have been brought here to besiege a single city, he has justly reckoned your labour, soldiers, rather than the profit. For it is true that you are to attack the walls of a single city, but in that single city you will have taken the whole of Spain. Here are the hostages of all the important kings and peoples; and once they are in your power, they will immediately surrender all that is now subject to the Carthaginians. Here is all the money of the enemy, without which, inasmuch as they maintain mercenary armies, they are incapable of waging war, while it will be of the greatest service to us in winning the support of the barbarians. Here are their artillery, their arms, all their war material, which will equip you and at the same time will strip the enemy. Furthermore we shall gain possession of a city very beautiful and very rich, likewise most convenient in its remarkable harbour, from which by land and sea everything which the needs of war demand may be supplied. We shall not only have these great advantages ourselves, but shall deprive the enemy of things much more important. This is their citadel, this is their granary, their treasury, their arsenal, this their storehouse for everything. To this port lies the direct course from Africa; this is the one roadstead between the Pyrenees and Gades; from this Africa menaces the whole of Spain. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Neptune had appeared to him in a dream and had pledged his aid at the right moment; Polybius X. xi. 6 f.

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XLIV. . . . armaverat.<sup>1</sup> Cum terra marique instrui oppugnationem videret, et ipse copias ita  
 2 disponit: oppidanorum duo milia ab ea parte qua castra Romana erant opponit; quingentis militibus arcem insidit, quingentos tumultu urbis in orientem verso inponit; multitudinem aliam quo clamor, quo subita vocasset res intentam ad omnia occurrere  
 3 iubet. Patefacta deinde porta eos quos in via ferente ad castra hostium instruxerat emittit.<sup>2</sup> Romani duce ipso praecipiente parumper cessare, ut propiores subsidiis in certamine ipso summittendis essent.  
 4 Et primo haud impares stetero acies; subsidia deinde identidem summissa e castris non averterunt solum in fugam hostis, sed adeo effusis institerunt ut, nisi receptui cecinisset, permixti fugientibus inrupturi fuisse in urbem viderentur.  
 5 Trepidatio vero non in proelio maior quam tota urbe fuit. Multae stationes pavore atque fuga<sup>3</sup> desertae sunt relictique muri, cum qua cuique  
 6 erat proximum desiluissent. Quod ubi<sup>4</sup> egressus<sup>5</sup> Scipio in tumultum quem Mercuri vocant anim-

<sup>1</sup> armaverat P(1): deleted A<sup>1</sup>: om. JKz Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> emittit Weissenborn: mittit P(1)JK Aldus.

<sup>3</sup> fuga Gronovius: oga P: loga P<sup>1</sup>f: loca (3) and (with desertia) AJKz.

<sup>4</sup> ubi Aldus, Froben, Salmasius: ob P(1).

<sup>5</sup> egressus Salmasius: veressus P<sup>1</sup>R: variously altered in (1): versus Aldus, Froben.

<sup>1</sup> Missing is the narrative also of the beginning of the assault (l.c. xii. 1 ff.). The subject of the broken sentence is to be supplied from xlv. 8 f., i.e. Mago, commandant of the place. He had armed available civilians.

XLIV. . . . had provided them with arms.<sup>1</sup> When he saw the preparations for a siege by land and sea, he also disposed his troops as follows: two thousand of the townsmen he stationed against the enemy on that side on which lay the Roman camp; the citadel<sup>2</sup> he garrisoned with five hundred soldiers; five hundred he posted on the hill in the city towards the east;<sup>3</sup> the rest of the multitude he ordered to be on the alert in every direction and to confront the enemy wherever shouting or an emergency should call them. Then opening the gate he sent out the men he had drawn up on a street leading towards the camp of the enemy. The Romans, instructed by the general himself, drew back for a short time, that they might be nearer the reinforcements to be sent in the midst of the engagement. And at first the battle-lines stood fairly matched; then reinforcements sent again and again from the camp not only put the enemy to flight, but so pressed upon them in their disorder that, if Scipio had not sounded the recall, they would, it seemed, have mingled with the fugitives, and burst into the city.

But the alarm in the battle was no greater than that throughout the city. Many positions were deserted in panic and flight, and the walls were abandoned, when the men had leaped down, each taking the shortest way. When this was noticed by Scipio, who had climbed the hill which they call Mercury's Hill,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A height close to the wall on its northwest side, above the bridge and a gate leading to it.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. facing south (correcting Polybius' orientation; l.c. x. 8). On it was a temple of Aesculapius.

<sup>4</sup> On this hill, east of the isthmus, the Roman camp had been pitched.

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advertit<sup>1</sup> multis partibus nudata defensoribus moenia  
 esse, omnis e castris excitos ire ad oppugnandam  
 7 urbem et ferre scalas iubet. Ipse trium prae se  
 iuvenum validorum scutis oppositis—ingens enim  
 iam vis omnis generis telorum e muris volabat—ad  
 urbem succedit, hortatur, imperat quae in rem sunt,  
 8 quodque plurimum ad accendendos militum animos  
 intererat, testis spectatorque virtutis atque ignaviae  
 9 cuiusque adest. Itaque in volnera ac tela ruunt,  
 neque illos muri neque superstantes armati arcere  
 10 queunt quin certatim ascendant. Et ab navibus  
 eodem tempore ea quae mari adluitur pars urbis  
 oppugnari coepta est. Ceterum tumultus inde  
 11 maior quam vis adhiberi poterat. Dum adplicant,  
 dum raptim<sup>2</sup> exponunt scalas militesque, dum qua  
 cuique proximum est in terram evadere properant,  
 ipsa festinatione et certamine alii alios inpediunt.

XLV. Inter haec repleverat iam Poenus armatis  
 muros, et vis magna ex ingenti<sup>3</sup> copia congesta  
 2 telorum suppeditabat. Sed neque viri nec tela nec  
 quicquam aliud aequae quam moenia ipsa sese de-  
 fendebant. Rarae enim scalae altitudini aequari  
 poterant, et quo quaeque altiores, eo infirmiores  
 3 erant. Itaque cum summus quisque evadere non  
 posset, subirent tamen alii, onere ipso frange-  
 bantur. Quidam stantibus scalis, cum altitudo  
 caliginem oculis offudisset, ad terram delati sunt.  
 4 Et cum passim homines scalaeque ruerent, et ipso

<sup>1</sup> vocant animadvertit C<sup>4</sup> *Salmasius*: (-ium) cantanti  
 advertit P(3)JK.

<sup>2</sup> raptim *Crévier*: partim P(1)JK *Aldus*, *Froben*.

<sup>3</sup> ex ingenti *Gronovius*: et ingenti P(1): et ingens A<sup>2</sup>?JK  
*Aldus*, *Froben*.

namely, that at many points the walls were stripped  
 of defenders, he gave orders to call all the men out of  
 camp, to advance to the attack upon the city and to  
 bring ladders. He himself, while three strong young  
 men held their shields in front of him—for a great  
 number of missiles of every kind were flying from the  
 walls—came up to the city, gave encouragement and  
 pertinent orders, and, what was of most importance  
 in firing the soldiers' spirits, he was there as witness  
 and spectator of every man's courage or cowardice.  
 And so men dashed on in the face of wounds and  
 missiles, and neither walls nor armed men standing on  
 them could restrain them from vying with each other  
 in the attempt to climb. And at the same time from  
 the ships an attack began upon that part of the city  
 which is washed by the sea. But from that side they  
 were able to create an uproar rather than to launch an  
 attack. In making fast, in hastily landing ladders  
 and men, in their impatience to get ashore, each the  
 shortest way, they hindered one another by their  
 very haste and rivalry.

XLV. Meanwhile the Carthaginian had now fully  
 manned the walls with armed men, and he had a  
 great number of missiles ready at hand out of his  
 immense reserves. But neither men nor missiles  
 nor anything else defended the walls so much as the  
 walls were their own defence. For few ladders could  
 reach to their height, and the higher these were the  
 weaker. And so since the highest man could not  
 climb over, but nevertheless others kept coming up,  
 the ladders were breaking by the mere weight. Some  
 men, although the ladders stood, owing to the dizzi-  
 ness produced by the height fell to the ground. And  
 while everywhere men and ladders were dropping,

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successu audacia atque alacritas hostium cresceret,  
5 signum receptui datum est; quod spem non praesentis  
modo ab tanto certamine ac labore quietis obsessis,  
sed etiam in posterum dedit, scalis et corona capi  
urbem non posse; opera et difficilia esse et tempus  
datura<sup>1</sup> ad ferendam opem imperatoribus suis.

6 Vix prior tumultus conticuerat cum Scipio ab  
defessis iam vulneratisque recentis integrosque alios  
accipere scalas iubet et<sup>2</sup> vi maiore adgredi urbem.

7 Ipse, ut ei nuntiatum est aestum decedere, quod  
per piscatores Tarraconenses, nunc levibus cumbis,  
nunc, ubi eae siderent, vadis pervagatos stagnum,  
compertum habebat facilem pedibus ad murum  
transitum dari, eo secum<sup>3</sup> armatos quingentos<sup>4</sup>

8 duxit. Medium ferme diei erat, et ad id, quod sua  
sponte cedente in mare aestu trahebatur aqua, acer  
etiam septemtrio ortus inclinatum stagnum eodem  
quo aestus ferebat et adeo nudaverat vada ut alibi  
umbilico tenus aqua esset, alibi genua vix superaret.

9 Hoc cura ac ratione compertum in prodigium ac  
deos vertens Scipio, qui ad transitum Romanis mare  
verterent et stagna auferrent viasque ante numquam  
initas humano vestigio aperirent, Neptunum iubebat  
ducem itineris sequi ac medio stagno evadere ad  
moenia.

<sup>1</sup> datura Kz Froben 1: -rum P(1)Jz Aldus.

<sup>2</sup> et JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1).

<sup>3</sup> eo secum Gronovius: eoseum P: eos P<sup>2</sup>(1)JK: eo M<sup>2</sup>z Aldus, Froben.

<sup>4</sup> quingentos (= D) Weissenborn (cf. xlv. 2): om. P(1) JK Aldus.

<sup>1</sup> It was now late in the day; so Polybius X. xiii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> In the previous winter; Polybius l.c. viii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 167, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> For Polybius' conflicting statement cf. note 1.

and the enemies' boldness and zest were increasing B.C. 210  
just because of their success, the signal for the recall  
was given.<sup>1</sup> This gave the besieged not only the  
hope of present respite from such conflict and effort,  
but also confidence for the future that the city could  
not be taken by ladders and encirclement; that  
siege-works were difficult and would also give time  
for their generals to bring aid.

Hardly had the first uproar been stilled when  
Scipio orders the ladders to be taken from men now  
weary and wounded, by others who were fresh and  
uninjured, and that an attack in greater force should  
be made upon the city. As for himself, having been  
informed by fishermen of Tarraco<sup>2</sup> who had crossed  
the lagoon everywhere, now in light vessels, now,  
when these would go aground, through shallow water,  
that an easy crossing on foot up to the wall was  
possible, Scipio, when word was brought to him that  
the tide was ebbing,<sup>3</sup> led five hundred armed men  
with him to the place. It was about the middle of  
the day,<sup>4</sup> and in addition to the draining away of the  
water of itself as the tide ebbed seaward, a fierce  
north wind also had sprung up and was carrying the  
receding lagoon in the same direction as the tide, and  
had so laid bare the shoals that in one place the water  
was up to the navel only, in another scarcely reached  
beyond the knees. What he had ascertained by  
painstaking and calculation, Scipio represented as a  
miracle and an act of the gods, who for the passage of  
the Romans were diverting the sea, he said, and  
draining lakes and opening up ways never before  
trodden by man's foot. And he bade them to follow  
Neptune as their guide on the march, and to make  
their way straight across the lagoon to the walls.

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XLVI. Ab terra ingens labor succedentibus erat; nec altitudine tantum moenium impediabantur, sed quod defensores adgredientis<sup>1</sup> ad ancipites utrimque ictus subiectos habebant Romanos, ut latera infestiora<sup>2</sup> subeuntibus quam adversa corpora essent. At parte in<sup>3</sup> alia quingentis et per stagnum facilis transitus et in murum ascensus inde fuit; nam neque opere emunitus erat, ut ubi ipsius loci ac stagni praesidio satis creditum foret, nec ulla armatorum statio aut custodia opposita, intentis omnibus ad opem eo<sup>4</sup> ferendam unde periculum ostendebatur.

<sup>3</sup> Ubi urbem sine certamine intravere, pergunt inde quanto maximo cursu poterant ad eam portam circa<sup>4</sup> quam omne contractum certamen erat. In quod adeo intenti omnium non animi solum fuere, sed etiam oculi auresque pugnantium spectantiumque et<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> adhortantium pugnantis, ut nemo ante ab tergo senserit<sup>5</sup> captam urbem quam tela in aversos inciderunt et<sup>6</sup> utrimque ancipitem hostem habebant. <sup>6</sup> Tunc turbatis defensoribus metu et moenia capta, et porta intus forisque pariter refringi coepta; et mox caedendo confectis ac distractis, ne iter in<sup>7</sup> pediretur, foribus armati impetum fecerunt. Magna multitudo et muros transcendebat, sed ii passim ad caedem oppidanorum versi; illa quae portam ingressa erat iusta acies cum ducibus, cum ordinibus

<sup>1</sup> defensores adgredientis *conj. Conway: euntes (or -is) P(1) JK Aldus, Froben: coeuntis N: many conjectures.*

<sup>2</sup> in, suspected by Weissenborn, Conway; defended by Friedersdorff.

<sup>3</sup> eo *Sp?N<sup>a</sup> Froben 2: of. P(3): om. MBANJK Aldus.*

<sup>4</sup> et *A<sup>a</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.*

<sup>5</sup> senserit *Sp? Froben 2: sentiret P(3)ANJK Aldus, with different order.*

<sup>6</sup> et *Sp Froben 2: om. P(1)NJK Aldus.*

XLVI. On the landward side it was a very serious task for men approaching the walls; and they were hindered not only by the height of these, but also because the defenders had the attacking Romans doubly exposed to wounds on the right and on the left, so that as they approached their sides were in greater danger than the front of their bodies. But on the other side of the city the five hundred found both an easy passage across the lagoon and then an easy climb to the top of the wall. For it had not been built up to the full height, since they had sufficient confidence in the protection offered by the position itself and by the lagoon, and there was no post of armed men nor a guard to confront them, since all were intent upon bringing aid to any quarter from which danger was indicated.

Having entered the city without a struggle, they then proceeded with all possible speed to the gate round which the whole battle had been brought on. On that fighting so intent were not only the minds, but also the eyes and ears of all the fighters and spectators and of those who were encouraging the fighters, that no one was aware that the city had been captured in their rear until missiles fell upon their backs and they had the enemy on both front and rear. Then as the defenders were panic-stricken, the walls were captured and men began to batter down the gate at the same time from within and from without. And presently, when the gates had been chopped to pieces and dragged off, so as not to block the passage, the armed men charged. A great multitude climbed over the wall also, but they scattered in all directions to slay the townspeople. The regular formation which had entered the gate made its way with its

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8 media urbe usque<sup>1</sup> in forum processit. Inde cum  
duobus itineribus fugientis videret hostis, alios ad  
tumulum in orientem versum, qui tenebatur quin-  
gentorum militum praesidio, alios in arcem, in quam  
et ipse Mago cum omnibus fere armatis qui muris  
pulsus fuerant refugerat, partim<sup>2</sup> copiarum ad tumu-  
lum expugnandum mittit, partim<sup>3</sup> ipse ad arcem  
9 ducit. Et tumulus primo impetu est captus, et  
Mago arcem conatus defendere, cum omnia hostium  
plena videret neque spem ullam esse, se arcemque et  
10 praesidium dedit. Quoad dedita arx est, caedes  
tota urbe passim factae, nec ulli puberum qui obuius  
fuit parcebatur; tum signo dato caedibus finis  
factus; ad praedam victores versi, quae ingens  
omnis generis fuit.

XLVII. Liberorum capitum virile secus ad decem  
milia capta. Inde qui cives Novae Carthaginis erant  
dimisit, urbemque et sua omnia quae reliqua eis  
2 bellum fecerat restituit. Opifices ad duo milia  
hominum erant; eos publicos fore populi Romani  
edixit, cum spe propinqua libertatis, si ad ministeria  
3 belli enixe operam navassent. Ceteram multitu-  
dinem incolarum iuvenum ac validorum servorum  
in classem ad supplementum remigum dedit; et  
4 auxerat navibus octo<sup>4</sup> captivis classem. Extra

<sup>1</sup> usque *N*: om. *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> partim *P*(3)*N*: partem *C*<sup>4</sup>*M*<sup>2</sup>*A*<sup>2</sup>*JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>3</sup> partim *P*(1): partem *C*<sup>4</sup>*A*<sup>4</sup> *Aldus: om. SpJK Froben 2.*

<sup>4</sup> octo *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Froben: xviii Sigonius from Polybius X. xvii. 13.*

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* south; cf. p. 167, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Eighteen in Polybius *l.c.* xvii. 13; cf. below, xlix. 6.  
The preceding figures, however, show how closely Livy

officers and its ranks through the centre of the city B.O. 210  
even into the market-place. From that point Scipio  
saw the enemy fleeing down two streets, one party  
towards the hill facing the east<sup>1</sup> and held by a  
garrison of five hundred soldiers, the rest into the  
citadel, into which Mago also with nearly all the  
armed men who had been beaten back from the  
walls had fled for refuge. Accordingly he sent part  
of his forces to storm the hill, and himself led a part  
to the citadel. The hill was taken at the first  
assault, and Mago, who attempted to defend the  
citadel, seeing the whole city filled with the enemy  
and that there was no hope, surrendered himself and  
the citadel with its garrison. Until the surrender of  
the citadel there was slaughter everywhere through-  
out the city, and they did not spare any adult who  
met them. Then the signal was given and an end  
was made of slaughter. The victors turned to the  
spoils, which were immense and of every kind.

XLVII. Of male free men about ten thousand  
were captured. From that number Scipio released  
those who were citizens of New Carthage and  
restored to them their city and also all the property  
which the war had spared to them. The artisans  
numbered about two thousand men. These he  
announced would be public slaves of the Roman  
people, with the not distant hope of freedom if they  
should actively exert themselves in providing the  
equipment for war. The rest of the multitude, made  
up of young non-citizens and strong slaves, he turned  
over to the fleet to recruit the oarsmen; and he had  
enlarged the fleet by eight<sup>2</sup> captured ships. Apart  
followed him; not as in §§ 5 ff. drawing from a different  
source.

hanc multitudinem Hispanorum obsides erant, quorum perinde ac si sociorum liberi essent cura habita. Captus et apparatus ingens belli: catapultae maximae formae centum viginti, minores ducentae octoginta una; ballistae maiores viginti tres, minores quinquaginta duae, scorpionum maiorum minorumque et armorum telorumque ingens numerus; signa militaria septuaginta quattuor. Et auri argentique<sup>1</sup> relata ad imperatorem magna vis: paterae aureae fuerunt ducentae septuaginta sex, librales<sup>2</sup> ferme omnes pondo; argenti infecti<sup>3</sup> signatique decem et octo milia et trecenta pondo, vasorum argenteorum magnus numerus; haec omnia C. Flaminio quaestori adpensa adnumerataque sunt; tritici quadringenta<sup>4</sup> milia modium, hordei ducenta septuaginta. Naves onerariae sexaginta tres in portu expugnatae captaeque,<sup>5</sup> quaedam cum suis oneribus, frumento, armis, aere praeterea ferroque et linteis et sparto et navali alia materia ad classem aedificandam, ut minimum omnium inter tantas opes belli captas<sup>6</sup> Carthago ipsa fuerit.

XLVIII. Eo die Scipio, C. Laelio cum sociis navibus urbem custodire iusso, ipse in castra legiones reduxit fessosque milites omnibus uno die belli operibus, quippe qui et acie dimicassent et capienda

<sup>1</sup> -que *M<sup>2</sup>ANJK Aldus, Froben: om. P(3) Conway.*

<sup>2</sup> librales *Sp<sup>1</sup>A<sup>6</sup>JK Froben 2, Conway: libras P(3) Gronovius: librae AN Aldus, Madvig.*

<sup>3</sup> infecti *Gronovius: facti P(3)JK Aldus, Froben: facte AN.*

<sup>4</sup> quadringenta *PRB<sup>2</sup>D: quadraginta (or XL) CMBANJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>5</sup> captaeque *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: que P(3).*

<sup>6</sup> belli captas *Sp<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup> Froben 2: belli castas P: bellicas P<sup>2</sup>(1)N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus.*

from this multitude were the Spanish hostages, who A.U. 210 were cared for just as if they were the children of allies. Captured also was a vast amount of war material: a hundred and twenty catapults of the largest model, two hundred and eighty-one of the smaller; twenty-three larger *ballistae*, fifty-two smaller; larger and smaller scorpions and arms and missile weapons, a vast number; seventy-four military standards. Of gold also and silver a large quantity was brought to the general. There were two hundred and seventy-six gold *paterae*,<sup>1</sup> nearly all of them weighing a pound; of silver, the unwrought and coined, there were eighteen thousand three hundred pounds, of silver vessels a large number. All of these, after weighing and counting, were delivered to Gaius Flaminius, the quaestor. Of wheat there were four hundred thousand pecks; of barley two hundred and seventy thousand. Sixty-three merchantmen were attacked and captured in the harbour, some with their cargoes, grain, arms, also bronze and iron and linen and Spanish broom<sup>2</sup> and ship timber also for the building of a fleet, so that in the midst of these great resources for the war that were captured (New) Carthage itself was the smallest part of it all.

XLVIII. On that day Scipio, after ordering Gaius Laelius with the marines to guard the city, himself led the legions back into camp. And as the soldiers were exhausted by all the warlike operations combined in a single day—since they had fought in line of battle,

<sup>1</sup> Deep saucers used as drinking cups, but usually mentioned when a libation was poured.

<sup>2</sup> Esparto, of which much was grown near New Carthage for use in making ropes, etc., cf. XXII. xx. 6.

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urbe tantum laboris periculique adissent et capta cum  
iis qui in arcem confugerant iniquo etiam loco pugnas-  
3 sent, curare corpora iussit. Postero die militibus  
navalibusque sociis convocatis primum dis immortalibus  
laudes gratesque egit, qui se non urbis solum  
opulentissimae omnium in Hispania uno die compo-  
tem fecissent, sed ante eo conguessissent omnis  
Africae atque Hispaniae opes, ut neque hostibus  
quicquam relinqueretur, et sibi ac suis omnia super-  
4 essent. Militum deinde virtutem conlaudavit quod  
eos non eruptio hostium, non altitudo moenium,  
non inexplorata stagni vada, non castellum in alto  
tumulo situm, non munitissima arx deterruisset  
quo minus transcenderent omnia perrumperentque.  
5 Itaque quamquam omnibus omnia deberet, prae-  
cipuum muralis coronae decus eius esse qui primus  
murum ascendisset; profiteretur qui se dignum eo  
6 duceret dono. Duo professi sunt, Q. Trebellius,<sup>1</sup>  
centurio legionis quartae, et Sex. Digitius, socius  
navalis. Nec ipsi tam inter se acriter contende-  
bant quam studia excitaverant uterque sui corporis  
7 hominum. Sociis C. Laelius, praefectus<sup>2</sup> classis,  
8 legionariis M. Sempronius Tuditanus aderat. Ea  
contentio cum prope seditionem veniret, Scipio  
tris recuperatores cum se daturum pronuntiasset  
qui cognita causa testibusque auditis iudicaret uter

<sup>1</sup> Trebellius *Sp?A\*JK Froben 2*: tiberilius *P(1)N*.

<sup>2</sup> praefectus *N<sup>s</sup> marg. Rhenanus, Froben 2*: que tectus  
*Sp*: q. or que *P(3)N*: om. *C<sup>3</sup>A\*JK Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> A rare example of an open competition for a military  
distinction to be awarded.

and in taking the city had been involved in such B.C. 210  
exertion and danger, and after the capture had con-  
tended, on unfavourable ground at that, with those  
who had sought refuge in the citadel—he ordered  
them to rest. On the following day he called  
together the soldiers and marines, and first praised  
and thanked the immortal gods, who had made him  
master in a single day, not only of the richest of all  
the cities in Spain, but had previously accumulated  
there all the resources of Africa and Spain, so that  
nothing was left to the enemy, while for himself and  
his men there was abundance of everything. He  
went on to praise warmly the courage of the soldiers  
because neither a sally of the enemy, nor the height  
of walls, nor the unsounded waters of the lagoon, nor  
the fortress on a lofty hill, nor the very strongly  
fortified citadel had deterred them from climbing  
over or bursting through every obstacle. Accord-  
ingly, although he owed everything to everybody,  
the special distinction of a mural crown belonged to  
the man who had been the first to climb the wall;  
let him who thought himself deserving of that gift  
declare himself.<sup>1</sup> Two came forward as claimants,  
Quintus Trebellius, a centurion of the fourth legion,  
and Sextus Digitius, a marine. And these men  
themselves were not so much hotly competing with  
one another, as already fanning the partisanship of  
the men of their respective arms of the service. The  
marines were supported by Gaius Laelius, admiral  
of the fleet, the legionaries by Marcus Sempronius  
Tuditanus. When the strife was verging on mutiny,  
Scipio announced that he would name three arbiters  
to hear the claims, and after taking testimony, to  
decide which of the two had been the first to climb



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- 9 prior in oppidum transcendisset, C. Laelio et M. Sempronio, advocatis partis utriusque, P. Cornelium Caudinum de medio adiecit eosque tris recuperatores  
 10 considerare et causam cognoscere iussit. Cum res eo maiore ageretur certamine quod amoti tantae dignitatis non tam advocati quam moderatores studiorum fuerant, C. Laelius relicto consilio ad  
 11 tribunal ad Scipionem accedit, eumque docet rem sine modo ac modestia agi, ac prope esse ut manus inter se conferant. Ceterum, etiam si vis absit, nihilo minus detestabili exemplo rem agi, quippe ubi  
 12 fraude ac periurio decus petatur virtutis. Stare hinc legionarios milites, hinc classicos, per omnis deos paratos iurare magis quae velint quam quae sciant vera esse, et obstringere periurio non se solum suumque caput, sed signa militaria et aquilas sacra-  
 13 mentique religionem. Haec se <sup>1</sup> ad eum de sententia P. Corneli et M. Sempronii deferre. Scipio conlaudato Laelio ad contionem advocavit pronuntiavitque se satis compertum habere Q. Trebellium <sup>2</sup> et Sex. Digitium pariter in murum escendisse, seque eos ambos <sup>3</sup> virtutis causa coronis muralibus donare.  
 14 Tum reliquos prout cuiusque meritum virtusque erat donavit; ante omnis C. Laelium praefectum

<sup>1</sup> Haec se *A<sup>n</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: haec *P(1)N Mudvig*.<sup>2</sup> Trebellium: see p. 182, *crit. n. 1*.<sup>3</sup> ambos *N<sup>n</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)N*.

over the wall into the town. Then in addition to B.O. 210  
 Gaius Laelius and Marcus Sempronius, who represented this faction and that, he named Publius Cornelius Caudinus, a neutral, and ordered the three arbiters to sit down and hear the case. This was argued with all the more heat because the persons withdrawn, men of such high character, were restraining party feelings rather than representing their factions. Whereupon Gaius Laelius left the council, went up to Scipio on his tribune, and informed him that the matter was being debated without limit or self-restraint, and that the soldiers were on the point of laying hands on each other. But he said that, even if there should be no violence, they were nevertheless setting an abominable precedent in seeking by deception and perjury to win a reward for courage. On one side the legionaries were standing, he said, on the other the marines, ready to swear by all the gods rather what they wished to have true than what they knew to be true, and ready to involve not only themselves and their own persons in the perjury, but also the military standards and eagles and the sanctity of the oath of allegiance; that he was making this report to him on the advice of Publius Cornelius and Marcus Sempronius. Scipio warmly praised Laelius, summoned the soldiers to an assembly and declared that he was reliably informed that Quintus Trebellius and Sextus Digitius had climbed to the top of the wall at the same moment, and that for their courage he bestowed mural crowns upon them both. Then he rewarded the rest, each according to his desert and his courage. Above all the others he placed Gaius Laelius, admiral of the fleet, on a level with himself in every kind

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classis et omni genere laudis sibimet ipse<sup>1</sup> aequavit et corona aurea ac triginta bubus donavit.

XLIX. Tum obsides civitatum Hispaniae vocari iussit; quorum quantus numerus fuerit piget scribere, quippe cum<sup>2</sup> alibi trecentos ferme, alibi tria milia<sup>3</sup> septingentos viginti quattuor fuisse inveniam.

<sup>2</sup> Aequae et alia inter auctores discrepant. Praesidium Punicum aliis decem, aliis septem, aliis haud plus quam duum milium fuisse scribit. Capta alibi decem milia capitum,<sup>4</sup> alibi supra quinque et viginti <sup>3</sup> invenio.<sup>5</sup> Scorpiones maiores minoresque ad sexaginta captos scripserim, si auctorem Graecum sequar Silenum; si Valerium Antiatem, maiorum scorpionum sex milia, minorum tredecim<sup>6</sup> milia; adeo nullus <sup>4</sup> mentiendi modus est. Ne de ducibus quidem convenit. Plerique Laelium praefuisse classi, sunt <sup>5</sup> qui M. Iunium Silanum dicant; Arinen praefuisse Punicopraesidio deditumque Romanis Antias Valerius, <sup>6</sup> Magonem alii scriptores tradunt. Non de numero navium captarum, non de pondere auri atque argenti et redactae pecuniae <sup>7</sup> convenit. Si aliquis adsentiri

<sup>1</sup> ipse P(3)JK: ipsi AN Aldus, Froben, Madvig.

<sup>2</sup> cum A\*JK Froben 2: ubi P(1) (A?)N Aldus.

<sup>3</sup> tria milia (∞ ∞ ∞)PC: om. by the rest.

<sup>4</sup> alibi decem milia capitum A\*N\*JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, a lost line.

<sup>5</sup> invenio A\*N\*JK Aldus, Froben: -ias P: -ias or -ies (1).

<sup>6</sup> tredecim Gronovius: decem tria P(3)N: decem et tria AN<sup>2</sup>: XIII DA\*JK Aldus, Froben: decem et tria AN<sup>2</sup>; cf. crit. note on XXVII. xxix. 8.

<sup>7</sup> redactae pecuniae P(1) NJK Aldus: -ta -nia Sp Froben 2, Conway.

of commendation, and also presented him with a B.C. 210 golden wreath and thirty oxen.

XLIX. Then he ordered the hostages of the states of Spain to be summoned. How great was their number I dislike to state, since in one source I find that they were about three hundred,<sup>1</sup> in another three thousand seven hundred and twenty-four. There is no less disagreement on other matters also between the authorities. One writes that the Carthaginian garrison consisted of ten thousand men, another of seven thousand, another of not more than two thousand.<sup>2</sup> As for the captives, in one writer<sup>3</sup> I find ten thousand persons, in another above twenty-five thousand. I should set down about sixty larger and smaller scorpions as captured, if I were to follow a Greek authority, Silenus,<sup>4</sup> if Valerius Antias, then six thousand of the larger scorpions, thirteen thousand of the smaller; so lacking is any limit to his mendacity. Even as to the generals there is no agreement. Most say that Laelius commanded the fleet, there are some who say it was Marcus Iunius Silanus. Valerius Antias relates that Arines was in command of the Carthaginian garrison and surrendered to the Romans, other writers that it was Mago. There is no agreement as to the number of ships captured, none as to the weight of gold and silver and of money brought in. If one must agree

<sup>1</sup> Over 300, says Polybius X. xviii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> In Polybius 1000 only for the regular garrison, but an emergency force of 2000 was recruited; xii. 2 f.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Polybius xvii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Who was with Hannibal and wrote in Greek on his war with Rome; Nepos Hann. xiii. 3. Coelius used him (Cicero de Div. I. 49). Known to Polybius, but not mentioned by him; only here in Livy. For Valerius cf. note on vi. 8.

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- 7 necesse est, media simillima <sup>1</sup> veri <sup>2</sup> sunt. Ceterum vocatis obsidibus primum universos bonum animum  
8 habere iussit: venisse enim <sup>3</sup> eos in populi Romani potestatem, qui beneficio quam metu obligare homines malit exterisque gentis fide ac societate  
9 iunctas habere quam tristi subiectas servitio. Deinde acceptis nominibus civitatum recensuit captivos, quot cuiusque populi essent, et nuntios domum misit  
10 ut ad suos quisque recipiendos veniret. Si quarum forte civitatum legati aderant, eis praesentibus suos restituit; ceterorum curam benigne tuendorum C. Flaminio quaestori attribuit.
- 11 Inter haec e media turba obsidum mulier magno natu, Mandonii uxor, qui frater Indibilis Ilergetum reguli erat, flens ad pedes imperatoris procubuit obtestarique coepit ut curam cultumque feminarum  
12 impensius custodibus commendaret. Cum Scipio nihil defuturum iis <sup>4</sup> profecto diceret, tum rursus mulier "Haud magni ista facimus" inquit; "quid enim huic fortunae non satis est? Alia me cura aetatem harum intuentem—nam ipsa iam extra periculum iniuriae muliebris sum—stimulat." Et <sup>5</sup> aetate et forma florentes circa eam Indibilis filiae erant aliaeque <sup>6</sup> nobilitate pari, quae omnes eam pro  
14 parente colebant. Tum Scipio "Meae populique Romani disciplinae causa facerem" inquit "ne quid

<sup>1</sup> simillima P(1)NJK Aldus: similia Sp Froben 2.

<sup>2</sup> veri M<sup>1</sup>BSp Froben 2: veris DANJK Aldus: veneris P(3).

<sup>3</sup> enim A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK: om. by the rest.

<sup>4</sup> iis Sp: his N<sup>2</sup>: om. P(3)NJK Aldus, Froben 2.

<sup>5</sup> stimulat. Et PC: stimulat C<sup>4</sup>(3)N<sup>2</sup>JK: simul Sp Froben 2 (with angit inserted above after alia me): animum stimulat z Aldus.

<sup>6</sup> filiae erant aliaeque SpN<sup>2</sup> Froben 2: filiaeque PC: filii aequae (3)N<sup>2</sup>.

with some authorities, moderate figures are the most A.C. 210 probable. To resume, calling the hostages, Scipio first bade them all to be of good cheer; for they had come into the power of the Roman people, which prefers to bind men by favour rather than by fear, and to keep foreign nations linked by loyalty and alliance, rather than reduced to a harsh slavery. Then on learning the names of the states, he made a list of the captives, showing how many belonged to each people, and sent messengers to their homes, bidding that each man come to recover his own children. If ambassadors of any states happened to be there, he restored their hostages to them directly.<sup>1</sup> The task of kindly protecting the rest he assigned to Gaius Flaminius, the quaestor.

Meanwhile out of the midst of the crowd of hostages came an elderly woman, the wife of Mandonius, who was the brother of Indibilis, prince of the Ilergetes, and weeping she fell at the feet of the general and began to implore him to charge the guards more strictly with the care and comfort of the women. When Scipio said that they would surely lack nothing, the woman then replied: "We do not greatly care," she said, "for such things; for in our condition what is not sufficient? It is another concern which impels me as I look at these maidens; for as for myself, I am beyond the danger of violence done to woman." And in the bloom of youth and beauty the daughters of Indibilis were standing about her, and others of no less rank, all of whom paid her the honour due a parent. Then Scipio said: "Thanks to my own training and that of the Roman

<sup>1</sup> In Polybius he takes the hostages with him on his way to TARRACO; *l.c.* xx. 8.

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quod sanctum usquam esset apud nos violaretur;  
 15 nunc ut id curem inpensius vestra quoque virtus  
 dignitasque facit, quae ne in malis quidem oblatae  
 16 decoris matronalis estis." Spectatae deinde integ-  
 ritatis viro tradidit eas, tuerique haud secus verecunde  
 ac modeste quam hospitum coniuges ac matres iussit.

L. Captiva deinde a militibus adducitur ad eum  
 adulta virgo, adeo eximia forma ut quacumque in-  
 2 cedebat converteret omnium oculos. Scipio, per-  
 cunctatus patriam parentesque, inter cetera accepit  
 desponsam eam principi Celtiberorum; adulescenti  
 3 Allucio nomen erat. Extemplo igitur parentibus  
 sponsoque ab domo accitis, cum interim audiret  
 deperire eum sponsae amore, ubi primum venit,  
 accuratiore eum sermone quam parentis adloquitur:  
 4 "Iuvenis" inquit "iuvenem appello, quo minor<sup>1</sup>  
 sit inter nos huius<sup>2</sup> sermonis verecundia. Ego, cum  
 sponsa tua capta a militibus nostris ad me ducta<sup>3</sup>  
 esset audiremque tibi eam cordi esse, et forma faceret  
 5 fidem, quia ipse, si frui liceret ludo aetatis, praeser-  
 tim in recto et legitimo<sup>4</sup> amore, et non res publica  
 animum nostrum occupasset, veniam mihi dari  
 sponsam inpensius amanti vellem, tuo, cuius possum,  
 6 amori faveo. Fuit sponsa tua apud me eadem

<sup>1</sup> quo minor *N<sup>o</sup> Gronovius*: quo minus *Sp Froben* 2:  
 minor *P(1)NJK Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> huius *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben*: before inter *SpN<sup>o</sup>*.

<sup>3</sup> ducta *P(3)N*: deducta *AN<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>4</sup> et legitimo *P(3)Sp<sup>f</sup> Froben* 2: legitimoque *ANJK Aldus*.

people I would see to it that nothing which is any- *B.A. 210*  
 where sacred should suffer violence among us. But  
 as it is, I am moved to an even stricter care in that  
 respect by the courage and dignity of you women  
 also, who even in misfortune have not forgotten  
 what is seemly for a matron." He then handed  
 them over to a man of proved uprightness, and  
 ordered him to protect them with no less respect  
 and modesty than the wives and mothers of guest-  
 friends.

L. Then there was brought to him as a captive by  
 the soldiers a grown maiden of a beauty so extra-  
 ordinary that, wherever she went, she drew the eyes  
 of everyone. Scipio, upon enquiring about her  
 native city and her parents, learned among other  
 things that she had been betrothed to a leading man  
 of the Celtiberians. The young man's name was  
 Allucius. Accordingly he at once summoned parents  
 and fiancé from home, and as soon as he had arrived,  
 Scipio, having heard meantime that he was des-  
 perately in love with his betrothed, addressed him in  
 more studied language than he had used towards the  
 parents. "As a young man," he said, "I speak to  
 you as a young man—to lessen embarrassment  
 between us in this conversation. It was to me that  
 your betrothed was brought as a captive by our  
 soldiers, and I learned of your love for her—and her  
 beauty made that easy to believe. Therefore, since  
 in my own case, if it were only permitted me to  
 enjoy the pleasures of youth, especially in a proper  
 and legitimate love, and had not the state pre-  
 occupied my attention, I should wish to be pardoned  
 for an ardent love of a bride, I favour what is in  
 my power—your love. Your betrothed has been

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qua apud soceros tuos parentisque suos verecundia ;  
servata tibi est, ut inviolatum et dignum me teque  
7 dari tibi donum posset. Hanc mercedem unam pro  
eo munere paciscor: amicus populo Romano sis et,  
si me virum bonum credis esse, qualis patrem pa-  
truumque meum iam ante hae gentes norant, scias  
8 multos nostri similes in civitate Romana esse, nec  
ullum in terris hodie populum dici posse quem minus  
tibi hostem tuisque esse velis aut amicum malis."  
9 Cum <sup>1</sup> adulescens simul pudore et gaudio perfusus,<sup>2</sup>  
dextram Scipionis tenens, deos omnis invocaret ad  
gratiam illi pro se referendam, quoniam sibi nequa-  
quam satis facultatis pro suo animo atque illius erga  
se merito <sup>3</sup> esset, parentes inde cognatique virginis  
10 appellati; qui, quoniam gratis sibi redderetur virgo,  
ad quam redimendam satis magnum attulissent  
11 auri pondus, orare Scipionem ut id ab se donum  
acciperet coeperunt, haud minorem eius rei apud se  
gratiam futuram esse adfirmantes quam redditae  
12 inviolatae foret virginis. Scipio, quando tanto  
opere peterent, accepturum se pollicitus poni ante  
pedes iussit vocatoque ad se Allucio "Super dotem"  
inquit "quam accepturus a socero es, haec tibi a  
me dotalia dona accedent," aurumque tollere ac  
13 sibi habere iussit. His laetus donis honoribusque

<sup>1</sup> Cum *Sp Froben* 2: om. *P(1)NJK Aldus*.<sup>2</sup> perfusus *Sp Froben* 2: perusus *P*: -cusus *P<sup>2</sup>R*: -cussus  
*R<sup>2</sup>MBDAN*: -culsus *CA<sup>2</sup>*? *Aldus*.<sup>3</sup> merito *SpN<sup>2</sup>K Froben* 2: om. *P(1)NJ Aldus*.

in my camp with the same regard for modesty as M.O. 210  
in the house of your parents-in-law, her own  
parents. She has been kept for you, so that she  
could be given you as a gift, unharmed and worthy of  
you and of me. This is the only price that I stipulate  
in return for that gift: be a friend to the Roman  
people, and if you believe me to be a good man, such  
as these tribes formerly came to know in my father  
and uncle, be assured that in the Roman state there  
are many like us, and that no people in the world can  
be named to-day which you would be less desirous of  
having as an enemy to you and yours, or more de-  
sirous of having as a friend." The young man, over-  
come by embarrassment and at the same time by joy,  
holding Scipio's right hand, called upon all the gods to  
compensate him on his own behalf, since he was far  
from having sufficient means to do so in accordance  
with his own feeling and with what the general  
had done for him. Whereupon the parents and  
blood-relations of the maiden were summoned.  
They began to entreat Scipio, because the maiden,  
for whose ransom they had brought, as they said, a  
considerable weight of gold, was being restored to  
them without price, to accept that gift from them,  
assuring him that they would feel no less gratitude  
for his acceptance than for the restoration of the  
maiden unharmed. Scipio, since they so earnestly  
besought, promised that he would accept it, ordered  
the gift to be laid before his feet, and calling Allucius  
to him, said: "In addition to the dowry which you  
are about to receive from your father-in-law, this will  
be added by me as a nuptial gift to you." And he  
ordered him to take up the gold and keep it. De-  
lighting in this gift and courteous treatment he was

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dimissus domum, implevit popularis laudibus meritis Scipionis: ventisse dis simillimum iuvenem, vincentem omnia cum armis tum benignitate ac beneficiis.

14 Itaque dilectu clientium habito cum delectis mille et quadringentis equitibus intra paucos dies ad Scipionem revertit.

LI. Scipio retentum secum Laelium, dum captivos obsidesque et praedam ex consilio eius disponderet, 2 satis<sup>1</sup> omnibus compositis, data quinqueremi et<sup>2</sup> captivis cum<sup>3</sup> Magone et quindecim fere senatoribus qui simul cum eo capti erant in navem<sup>4</sup> inpositis 3 nuntium victoriae Romam mittit. Ipse paucos dies quibus morari Carthagine statuerat exercendis 4 navalibus pedestribusque copiis absumpsit. Primo die legiones in armis quattuor milium spatio decurrerunt; secundo die arma curare et tergere ante tentoria iussi; tertio die rudibus<sup>5</sup> inter se in modum iustae pugnae concurrerunt praepilatisque missilibus iaculati sunt; quarto die quies data; quinto iterum 5 in armis decursum est. Hunc ordinem laboris quietisque, quoad Carthagine morati sunt, servarunt. 6 Remigium classicique milites tranquillo in altum evecti, agilitatem navium simulacris navalis pugnae 7 experiebantur. Haec extra urbem terra marique corpora simul animosque ad bellum acuebant; urbs ipsa strepebat apparatu belli fabris omnium generum

<sup>1</sup> satis P(3)NJK Aldus: rebus SpN<sup>o</sup> Froben 2 (inserted after omnibus by Walters, who keeps satis).

<sup>2</sup> et Johnson: 6 Madvig: om. P(1)Sp, etc.

<sup>3</sup> cum SpN<sup>o</sup> Froben 2: -que PC: atque Madvig: om. (1)NJK Aldus.

<sup>4</sup> navem JK Madvig (cf. Polybius X. xix. 8): nave C<sup>4</sup>M<sup>1</sup>BDAN Aldus, Froben: nave ut P(3): naves sex (i.e. vi) Conway.

<sup>5</sup> rudibus P(1)N: sudibus M<sup>4</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.

sent away to his home, and he filled his countrymen B.C. 210 with the well-earned praises of Scipio, saying that there had come a most godlike youth, conquering everything by arms and especially by generosity and favours. And so, after conducting a levy among his clients, he returned within a few days to Scipio with fourteen hundred picked horsemen.

LI. Scipio kept Laelius by him until with his advice he should dispose of captives and hostages and the booty. Then when everything had been properly arranged, he furnished him with a quinquereme,<sup>1</sup> put on shipboard the captives with Mago and about fifteen senators who had been captured with him, and sent Laelius to Rome to report the victory. He himself spent the few days during which he had decided to remain at (New) Carthage in drilling his naval and land forces. On the first day the legions would run under arms for four miles; on the second they were ordered to take care of their arms and clean them in front of their tents; on the third day with wooden foils they encountered each other after the manner of a regular battle and hurled missile weapons provided with a button at the end; on the fourth day they were given a rest; on the fifth they again ran quickly under arms. This disposition of work and rest they maintained so long as they remained at (New) Carthage. The oarsmen and marines, when the sea was calm, would sail out into open water and test the mobility of their ships in sham naval battles. Such training outside the city by land and sea steeled both bodies and minds for war. The city itself rang with preparations for war, since artisans

<sup>1</sup> Polybius also mentions the quinquereme only (xix. 8). But a small convoy is to be presumed; cf. XXVII. vii. 4.

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- 8 in publicam officinam<sup>1</sup> inclusis. Dax cuncta pari cura obibat; nunc in classe ac navali erat, nunc cum legionibus decurrebat,<sup>2</sup> nunc operibus aspiciendis tempus dabat, quaeque in officinis quaeque in armamentario ac navalibus fabrorum multitudo pluruma
- 9 in singulos dies certamine ingenti faciebat. His ita incohatis reffectisque quae quassata erant muri,<sup>3</sup> dispositisque praesidiis ad custodiam urbis, Tarracōnem est profectus, a multis legationibus protinus
- 10 in via aditus, quas partim dato responso ex itinere dimisit, partim distulit Tarracōnem, quo omnibus novis veteribusque sociis edixerat conventum. Et cuncti fere qui cis Hiberum incolunt populi, multi etiam ulterioris provinciae convenerunt.
- 11 Carthaginiensium duces primo ex industria famam captae Carthaginis compresserunt; deinde, ut clarior res erat quam ut tegi ac dissimulari posset, eleva-
- 12 bant verbis: necopinato adventu ac prope furto unius diei urbem unam Hispaniae interceptam, cuius<sup>4</sup> rei tam parvae praemio elatum insolentem iuvenem inmodico gaudio speciem magnae victoriae
- 13 imposuisse; at ubi adpropinquare tres duces, tres victores hostium exercitus audisset, occursuram ei
- 14 extemplo domesticorum funerum memoriam. Haec in vulgus iactabant, haudquaquam ipsi ignari quantum sibi ad omnia virium Carthagine amissa decessisset.

<sup>1</sup> -cam officinam *Sp* (omitting a line from -li fabris to in publi-) *Walters*: -ca officina *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>2</sup> nunc in classe . . . decurrebat *SpN*<sup>2</sup> *Froben* 2: om. *P*(1)*NJK Aldus* (three lines lost).

<sup>3</sup> quae quassata erant muri *SpN*<sup>2</sup>, *Froben* 2: qua quassaverant muris *P*: same omitting qua *P*(1)(3), but with quos *CA*<sup>2</sup> *Aldus*: qua quassati erant, muris *Crévier*.

<sup>4</sup> cuius *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Froben*: eius *Sp*.

of all kinds were shut up in public workshops. The B.C. 210  
 general inspected everything with the same care; now he was on the fleet and the docks, now he was with the legions as they ran; now he was giving his time to viewing the work that was done from day to day in shops and arsenal and on the docks, with the utmost rivalry, by the great multitude of artisans. Having made such a beginning, and having repaired battered parts of the wall, and leaving forces posted to defend the city, he set out for Tarraco, being approached by many embassies in the course of his march. Some of these he answered and dismissed without stopping, some he postponed till he reached Tarraco, at which he had announced an assembly for all the allies new and old. And nearly all the peoples dwelling on this side of the Ebro came together, and many also from the farther province.

The Carthaginian commanders at first purposely suppressed the news of the capture of (New) Carthage. Then, when the matter was too well known to be concealed or masked, their language would minimize it, saying that by a sudden arrival and almost by stealth on a single day a single city of Spain had been seized; and carried away by success on so small a scale, an arrogant youth in an excess of joy had given it the appearance of a great victory; but when he heard that three generals, three victorious armies of the enemy were approaching, there would at once come to him the memory of the losses in his family. Such were their remarks in public, but in themselves they were by no means unaware what a mass of resources for every purpose had gone with the loss of (New) Carthage.

## LIBRI XXVI PERIOCHA

Hannibal ad tertium lapidem ab urbe Roma super Anienem castra posuit. Ipse cum duobus milibus equitum usque ad ipsam Capenam portam, ut situm urbis exploraret, obequitavit. Et cum per triduum in aciem utrimque exercitus omnis descendisset, certamen tempestas diremit; nam cum in castra redisset, statim serenitas erat. Capua capta est a Q. Fulvio et Ap. Claudio consulibus. Principes Campanorum veneno sibi mortem consciverunt. Cum senatus Campanorum deligatus esset ad palos, ut securi feriretur, litteras a senatu missas Q. Fulvius consul, quibus iubebatur parcere, antequam legeret, in sinu posuit et lege agi iussit et supplicium peregit. Cum comitiis apud populum quaereretur cui mandaretur Hispaniarum imperium, nullo id volente suscipere, P. Scipio, P. filius eius qui in Hispania ceciderat, professus est se iturum, et suffragio populi consensuque omnium missus Novam Carthaginem expugnavit, cum haberet annos XXIV videreturque divina stirpe creatus, quia et ipse, postquam togam acceperat, cotidie in Capitolio erat, et in cubiculo matris eius anguis saepe videbatur. Res praeterea gestas in Sicilia continet et amicitiam cum Aetolis iunctam bellumque gestum adversus Acarnanas et Philippum, Macedoniae regem.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK XXVI

Hannibal pitched his camp on the bank of the Anio at the third milestone from the city of Rome. In person with two thousand horsemen he rode up even to the Porta Capena,<sup>1</sup> to examine the lie of the city. And when for three days the entire army on each side had gone out into battle-line, a storm broke off the combat; for when they had returned to camp, at once there was a clear sky. Capua was taken by Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the consuls. The leading men of the Capuans took their own lives by poison. When the senators of Capua had been bound to stakes, to be beheaded, Quintus Fulvius, the consul, on receiving a letter from the senate in which he was bidden to spare them, put the letter in his bosom before reading it and ordered that the law be complied with, and carried out the penalty. When at the comitia in the presence of the people the question was raised, to whom should the command of the Spanish provinces be entrusted, and no one was willing to undertake it, Publius Scipio, son of that Publius who had fallen in Spain, declared that he would go; and having been sent by vote of the people and by general agreement, he stormed New Carthage, being twenty-four years old and seeming to have sprung from a divine race, because he was himself daily on the Capitol, from the time he had assumed the toga, and because in his mother's chamber a serpent used often to be seen. In addition this book contains events in Sicily and the establishment of friendship with the Aetolians and the war waged against the Acarnanians and Philip, King of Macedonia.

<sup>1</sup> An error for Collina; cf. x. 3.



## **BOOK XXVII**

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I. Hic status rerum in Hispania erat. In Italia  
consul Marcellus Salapia per prodicionem recepta  
2 Marmoreas et Meles de Samnitibus vi cepit. Ad  
tria milia militum ibi Hannibalis, quae praesidii  
causa relicta erant, oppressa: praeda—et aliquan-  
tum eius fuit—militi concessa. Tritici quoque  
3 decem milia hordei inventa. Ceterum nequaquam  
inde tantum gaudium fuit quanta clades intra paucos  
4 dies accepta est haud procul Herdonea urbe. Castra  
ibi Cn. Fulvius proconsul habebat spe recipiendae  
Herdoneae, quae post Cannensem cladem ab Ro-  
manis defecerat, nec loco satis tuto posita nec prae-  
5 sidiis firmata. Neglegentiam insitam ingenio ducis  
augebat spes ea, quod labare iis adversus Poenum  
fidem senserat, postquam Salapia amissa excessisse  
6 iis locis in Bruttios Hannibalem auditum est. Ea  
omnia ab Herdonea per occultos nuntios delata  
Hannibali simul curam sociae retinendae urbis et  
spem fecere incautum hostem adgrediendi. Exercitu

<sup>1</sup> Two unknown towns where Hannibal had important supply bases. For Salapia, in Apulia, northwest of Cannae, cf. XXVI. xxxviii. 6 ff. and note. Its garrison consisted of 500 Numidians; *l.c.* § 11.

<sup>2</sup> In Apulia, 30 miles west of Cannae; XXV. xxi. 1; xxii. 14.

## BOOK XXVII

I. SUCH was the state of affairs in Spain. In B.C. 210 Italy the consul Marcellus, having regained possession of Salapia by betrayal, took Marmoreae and Meles <sup>1</sup> from the Samnites by force. About three thousand of Hannibal's soldiers, who had been left as a garrison, were overpowered there. The booty—and there was much of it—was turned over to the soldiers. In addition two hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat and a hundred and ten thousand pecks of barley were found. But the rejoicing in consequence by no means balanced the great loss suffered within a few days not far from the city of Herdonea.<sup>2</sup> There Gnaeus Fulvius, the proconsul, was encamped, in the hope of regaining Herdonea, which had deserted the Romans after the disaster at Cannae; but his camp was pitched in a position neither quite safe nor strongly held. Carelessness, ingrained in the character of the general, was increased by that hope, inasmuch as he had learned that their loyalty was weakening and turning against the Carthaginian, ever since they had heard that, after the loss of Salapia, Hannibal had withdrawn from that region into the land of the Bruttii. The report of all this to Hannibal from Herdonea by secret messengers made him concerned to retain an allied city and at the same time gave him the hope of attacking the enemy unawares. With an army unencumbered

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expedito, ita ut famam prope praeveniret, magnis itineribus ad Herdoneam contendit et, quo plus terroris hosti obiceret, acie instructa accessit.  
 7 Par audacia Romanus, consilio et viribus impar,  
 8 copiis raptim eductis conflixit. Quinta legio et sinistra ala acriter pugnam inierunt; ceterum Hannibal signo equitibus dato ut, cum pedestres acies occupassent praesenti certamine oculos animosque, circumvecti pars castra hostium, pars terga trepidantium<sup>1</sup> invaderent, ipse Cn. Fulvius similitudinem nominis, quia Cn. Fulvius praetorem biennio ante in isdem devicerat locis, increpans, similem eventum  
 10 pugnae fore adfirmabat. Neque ea spes vana fuit; nam cum comminus acie et peditum certamine multi  
 11 cecidissent Romanorum, starent tamen ordines signaque, equestris tumultus a tergo, simul a castris<sup>2</sup> clamor hostilis auditus sextam ante<sup>3</sup> legionem, quae in secunda acie posita prior ab Numidis turbata est, quintam deinde atque eos qui ad prima signa  
 12 erant avertit. Pars in fugam effusi, pars in medio caesi, ubi et ipse Cn. Fulvius cum undecim tribunis  
 13 militum cecidit. Romanorum sociorumque quot caesa in eo proelio milia sint, quis pro certo adfirmet, cum tredecim milia alibi,<sup>4</sup> alibi<sup>5</sup> haud plus quam

<sup>1</sup> trepidantium *Gronovius*: oppidantium *P(3)*: oppugnantium *AN Aldus*: pugnantium *JK Froben*: necopinantium *Sauppe*.

<sup>2</sup> a castris *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK*: acris *P(3)*.

<sup>3</sup> ante *P(3)JK Froben 2* (after legionem *AN Aldus*): deleted by *J. H. Voss, Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> alibi *P(3)AN Aldus, Froben* (after cum *JKC<sup>4</sup>*).

<sup>5</sup> alibi *AN Aldus, Froben*: om. *PJK*.

<sup>1</sup> For this formation (legion and auxiliaries in the same line) see Vol. VI. p. 422, note; cf. ii. 6; xii. 14; xiv. 3; xlii. 2.

by baggage he hastened by forced marches to Herdonea, so that he almost outstripped reports of his coming; and to strike more alarm into the enemy, he approached the city in battle-array. The Roman, who was his equal in boldness but not in strategy and in forces, hastily led out his troops and engaged. The fifth legion and the left *ala*<sup>1</sup> went into battle with spirit. But Hannibal gave the order to his cavalry, that when the infantry lines should have concentrated the eyes and attention of the enemy upon the immediate conflict, they should turn the flanks and attack, some of them the enemy's camp, some the rear of the wavering troops. And he himself, scornfully alluding to the similarity in the name of Gnaeus Fulvius, since he had defeated a praetor Gnaeus Fulvius two years before in the same region, asserted that the outcome of the battle would be similar. Nor was that hope groundless. For when many of the Romans had fallen in the close contact of the lines during the infantry battle, while the ranks and standards nevertheless held their ground, the wild charge of the cavalry was heard in the rear, and at the same time the shouts of the enemy from the camp. This routed first the sixth legion, which was posted in the second line and was the first to be thrown into disorder by the Numidians; and then it routed the fifth legion and the men who were with the front-line standards. Some scattered in flight, some were slain in the centre of the battle, where Gnaeus Fulvius also fell together with eleven tribunes of the soldiers. How many thousand Romans and allies were slain in that battle who could state with certainty, inasmuch as in one source I find thirteen thousand, in another not more

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- septem inveniam? Castris praedaeque victor potitur.  
 14 Herdoneam, quia et defecturam fuisse ad Romanos  
 comperit nec mansuram in fide, si inde abscessisset,  
 multitudine omni Metapontum ac Thurios traducta  
 incendit; occidit principes qui cum Fulvio conloquia  
 15 occulta habuisse comperti sunt. Romani qui ex  
 tanta clade evaserant diversis itineribus semermes  
 ad Marcellum consulem in Samnium perfugerunt.

- II. Marcellus nihil admodum tanta clade territus  
 litteras Romam ad senatum de duce atque exercitu ad  
 2 Herdoneam amisso scribit: ceterum eundem se, qui  
 post Cannensem pugnam ferocem victoria Hannibalem  
 contudisset,<sup>1</sup> ire adversus eum, brevem illi laetitiam  
 3 qua exsultet<sup>2</sup> facturum. Et Romae quidem cum  
 luctus ingens ex praeterito, tum timor in futurum  
 4 erat: consul ex Samnio in Lucanos transgressus ad  
 Numistrone in conspectu Hannibalis loco plano,  
 5 cum Poenus collem teneret, posuit castra. Addidit  
 et aliam fidentis speciem, quod prior in aciem  
 eduxit; nec detractavit Hannibal, ut signa portis  
 efferré vidit. Ita tamen aciem instruxerunt ut  
 Poenus dextrum cornu in collem erigeret, Romani  
 6 sinistrum ad oppidum adplicarent. Ab Romanis

<sup>1</sup> contudisset *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: contuderit *JK Madvig Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> exsultet *P(1)NJK Conway*: -tare conj. *Conway* (with -disset).

<sup>1</sup> There is reason to believe that Livy's authorities had duplicated the defeat of a Fulvius (with identity of place and suspiciously similar circumstances), and that this is the real event, while that in XXV. xxi. is the doublet, due to confusion between Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus, consul in 211 B.C., and Gnaeus Fulvius Flaccus, praetor in 212 B.C. But the praetor must have suffered a shameful defeat somewhere; for the detailed account of his trial in XXVI. ii. 7 ff. and iii. for cowardice and neglect of duty could hardly be invented. Cf.

than seven? The camp and booty fell to the victor. B.C. 210  
 As for Herdonea, in view of his information that it would have revolted to the Romans and would not remain loyal to him if he should withdraw, he removed the whole population to Metapontum and Thurii and set fire to the city. He put to death the leading men who, he was informed, had had secret conversations with Fulvius. The Romans who had made their escape from so disastrous a battle, by different roads and half-armed sought refuge with the consul Marcellus in Samnium.<sup>1</sup>

II. Marcellus, who was not particularly alarmed by so serious a defeat, wrote a letter to the senate at Rome in regard to the loss of general and army at Herdonea. He said that nevertheless, being the same man who, after the battle of Cannae, had frustrated Hannibal, elated by that victory, he was marching against him to cut short his joy and exultation. At Rome, to be sure, there was not only great sorrow owing to what had happened, but also great fear for the future. The consul, however, crossing over from Samnium into Lucania, pitched camp near Numistro,<sup>2</sup> on level ground in sight of Hannibal, while the Carthaginian held a hill. He added the further appearance of confidence in being the first to lead out into battle-line. And Hannibal did not refuse, when he saw the standards borne out of the gates. Nevertheless they drew up their lines so that the Carthaginian made his right wing reach up the hill, while the Romans rested their left wing on the town.

De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* III. 2. 300, 459 f.; *Cambridge Ancient History* VIII. 81; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II<sup>2</sup>. 320 f.

<sup>2</sup> In the extreme north of Lucania, southwest of Venusia, at a distance of ca. 25 miles.

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prima legio et dextra ala, ab Hannibale Hispani  
 milites et funditores Baliares, elephanti quoque  
 commisso iam certamine in proelium acti; diu  
 7 pugna neutro inclinata stetit. Ab hora tertia cum  
 ad noctem pugnam extendissent, fessaeque pugnando  
 primae acies essent,<sup>1</sup> primae legioni tertia, dextrae  
 alae sinistra subiit, et apud hostis integri a fessis  
 8 pugnam acceperere. Novum atque atrox proelium  
 ex iam segni repente exarsit, recentibus animis  
 corporibusque; sed<sup>2</sup> nox incerta victoria diremit  
 9 pugnantis. Postero die Romani ab sole orto in  
 multum diei stetero in acie; ubi nemo hostium  
 adversus prodiit, spolia per otium legere et congestos  
 10 in unum locum cremavere suos. Nocte insequenti  
 Hannibal silentio movit castra et in Apuliam abiit.  
 Marcellus, ubi lux fugam hostium aperuit, saucius  
 cum praesidio modico Numistrone relictis praepositoque  
 iis L. Furio Purpurione tribuno militum,  
 11 est. Ibi per dies aliquot, cum ab stationibus pro-  
 cursaretur, mixta equitum peditumque tumultuosa  
 magis proelia quam<sup>3</sup> magna, et ferme omnia Romanis  
 12 secunda fuere. Inde per Apuliam ducti exercitus  
 sine ullo memorando certamine, cum Hannibal nocte

<sup>1</sup> The sentence Ab hora tertia . . . primae acies essent precedes Ab Romanis, § 6, in P(1)JK Aldus, Froben: transferred to this position by Heusinger, Conway. An early copyist seems at first to have overlooked the sentence Ab Romanis . . . stetit. Hence the confused order of time. If the MS. order is retained, one may begin a new sentence with Ut (supplied by Madvig before primae, § 7).

<sup>2</sup> sed A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: ex P: et P<sup>2</sup>l(1)N.

<sup>3</sup> quam, with this word begins a lacuna in P(1)N, extending to (not through) quia, iii. 7. Apparently P omitted a whole page of the copy before him; supplied for us by A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JKz.

On the Roman side the first legion and right *ala*, on A.O. 210 Hannibal's side the Spanish soldiers and Balearic slingers were engaged; and the elephants also were driven into battle after the conflict had begun. For a long time the battle hung in the balance, not inclining in either direction. After they had prolonged the battle from the third hour to nightfall and the front lines were exhausted by fighting, the third legion relieved the first, the left *ala* relieved the right, and among the enemy fresh troops took over the battle from the weary. A new battle and fierce suddenly flamed out of a conflict now grown spiritless, for the combatants were now fresh in spirit and in body. But night parted them with victory undecided. On the next day the Romans stood in line from sunrise until late in the day. When none of the enemy came out against them, they gathered spoils at their leisure, carried corpses of their men into one place and burned them. On the following night Hannibal broke camp silently and marched away into Apulia. Marcellus, when day disclosed the flight of the enemy, left the wounded at Numistro with a small garrison, placed Lucius Furius Purpurio, a tribune of the soldiers, in command of them, and made haste to follow on Hannibal's heels. Near Venusia<sup>1</sup> he overtook him. There for a number of days, while charges were made by outposts, there were mixed cavalry and infantry engagements, rather skirmishes than important battles, and nearly all of them favourable to the Romans. Thence the armies were led through Apulia without any notable conflict, since Hannibal

<sup>1</sup> In Apulia, near the borders of Samnium, to which it is sometimes assigned; cf. XXII. xlix. 14; liv. 1 ff.

signa moveret, locum insidiis quaerens, Marcellus nisi certa luce et explorato ante non sequeretur.

III. Capuae interim Flaccus dum bonis principum vendendis, agro qui publicatus erat locando—locavit autem omnem frumento—tempus terit, ne deesset materia in Campanos saeviendi, novum in occulto  
2 gliscens per indicium protractum est facinus. Milites aedificiis emotos, simul ut cum agro tecta urbis fruenta locarentur, simul metuens ne suum quoque exercitum sicut Hannibalis nimia urbis amoenitas emolliret, in portis murisque sibimet ipsos tecta militariter coegerat aedificare. Erant autem pleraque  
3 ex cratibus ac tabulis facta, alia harundine texta, stramento intacta omnia,<sup>1</sup> velut de industria alim  
4 mentis<sup>2</sup> ignis. Haec noctis una hora omnia ut<sup>3</sup> incenderent, centum septuaginta Campani principibus  
5 Blossiis fratribus coniuraverant. Indicio eius rei ex familia Blossiorum facto, portis repente iussu proconsulis clausis, cum ad arma signo dato milites concurrissent, comprehensi omnes qui in noxa erant, et quaestione acriter habita damnati necatique;

<sup>1</sup> omnia *Rhenanus*: omne *SpA<sup>n</sup>JKx Conway*: omnibus *z Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>2</sup> alimentis *Sp<sup>n</sup>JKx Aldus, Froben*: alimentum *A<sup>n</sup> Conway*.

<sup>3</sup> ut *Madvig*: om. *A<sup>n</sup>JKx*.

<sup>1</sup> Lands and buildings belonging to the Capuans had been added to the *ager publicus* of the Roman people (XXVI. xvi. 8), and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, consul in 212 B.C., as conqueror is leasing lands and houses. His duties were later taken over by the censors, who normally had that task; cf. xi. 8.

would set his standards in motion by night, seeking positions for ambushes, while Marcellus did not follow except in broad daylight and after reconnoitring.

III. At Capua meantime, while Flaccus was spending his time in selling the property of leading men, in leasing lands that had been confiscated<sup>1</sup>—and he leased them all in return for grain—a fresh crime fomented in secret was brought to light by informers, that he might not lack occasion for harsh treatment of the Capuans. The soldiers had been removed from dwellings, in order that houses in the city might be leased together with the land, and because Flaccus at the same time feared that the great charms of the city might weaken his army also, as they had Hannibal's. Accordingly he had compelled them to build their own shelters soldier-fashion at the gates and along the walls. Furthermore most of these were made of wickerwork and planks, others of reeds interwoven, all of them thatched with straw, as though these materials were deliberately intended to feed the flames. A hundred and seventy Capuans,<sup>2</sup> under the lead of the brothers Blossii, had conspired to set fire to all of these huts at the same hour of the night. Information in regard to this was given by slaves of the Blossii, and the gates were suddenly closed by order of the proconsul. The soldiers having rushed to arms at a given signal, all who were involved in the crime were arrested, and after a rigorous inquiry were condemned and put to death. The informers received

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the rigorous measures against the Capuans (XXVI. xxxiv. 7) had not yet been carried out, for the Blossii were still in possession of their slaves; § 5.

6 indicibus libertas et aeris dena milia data. Nucerinos et Acerranos, querentes ubi habitarent non esse, Acerris ex parte incensis, Nuceria deleta, Romam  
7 Fulvius ad senatum misit. Acerranis permissum ut aedificarent quae incensa erant; Nucerini Atellam, quia<sup>1</sup> id maluerant, Atellanis Calatiam migrare iussis, traducti.

8 Inter multas magnasque res, quae nunc secundae, nunc adversae occupabant cogitationes hominum, ne  
9 Tarentinae quidem arcis excidit memoria. M. Ogulnius et P. Aquilius in Etruriam legati ad frumentum coemendum quod Tarentum portaretur profecti, et mille milites de exercitu urbano, par numerus Romanorum sociorumque, eodem in praesidium cum frumento missi.

IV. Iam aestas in exitu erat, comitiorumque consularium instabat tempus; sed litterae Marcelli negantis e re publica esse vestigium abscedi ab Hannibale, cui cedenti certamenque abnuenti gravis  
2 ipse instaret, curam<sup>2</sup> iniecerant ne aut consulem tum maxime res agentem a bello avocarent, aut in  
3 annum consules deessent. Optimum visum est, quamquam extra Italiam esset, Valerium potius  
4 consulem ex Sicilia revocari. Ad eum litterae iussu

<sup>1</sup> quia, here *P(1)N* resume; cf. p. 208, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> curam *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: patribus curam *A<sup>4</sup>JK Conway*.

<sup>1</sup> For the destruction of these cities cf. XXIII. xv. 6 and xvii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Atella and Calatia, nearest towns (south and southeast) to Capua, had revolted from the Romans after Cannae; XXII. lxi. 11. Recovered five years later; XXVI. xvi. 5.

their freedom and ten thousand *asses* each. As for B.C. 210 the men of Nuceria and Acerrae, who complained that they had no dwelling-place, since Acerrae had been partly burned and Nuceria destroyed,<sup>1</sup> Fulvius sent them to the senate at Rome. The Acerrans were permitted to restore what had been burned; the Nucerians, having so elected, were conducted to Atella, while the Atellans were ordered to migrate to Calatia.<sup>2</sup>

Among the many important events which were engaging men's attention, as being now favourable and now unfavourable, the citadel of Tarentum<sup>3</sup> also was not forgotten. Marcus Ogulnius and Publius Aquilius set out for Etruria as commissioners to buy up grain to be shipped to Tarentum. And a thousand soldiers, equally divided between Romans and allies from the army at the city, were sent with the grain to the same place on garrison duty.

IV. Already the summer was at an end and the time for the consular election at hand. But a letter from Marcellus, stating that it was against the public interest for him to move a step away from Hannibal, since he was himself pressing him hard as he retired and refused an engagement, had inspired concern, for fear they must call the consul away from the war at the moment when he was actively engaged, or else should be without consuls for the next year. It seemed best instead to recall the consul Valerius from Sicily, even though he was outside of Italy. To Valerius under orders from the senate Lucius

<sup>3</sup> For two years Hannibal had been master of Tarentum, while the Roman garrison was still holding out in the citadel; XXV. ix-xi; xv. 4 f.

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senatus ab L. Manlio praetore urbano missae cum litteris consulis M. Marcelli, ut ex iis nosceret quae causa patribus eum potius quam collegam revocandi ex provincia esset.

- 5 Eo fere tempore legati ab rege Syphace Romam venerunt, quae is <sup>1</sup> prospera proelia cum <sup>2</sup> Cartha-  
6 giniensibus fecisset memorantes: regem nec inimiciorem ulli populo quam Carthaginensi nec amiciorem quam Romano esse adfirmabant; misisse eum antea legatos in Hispaniam ad Cn. et P. Cornelios imperatores Romanos; nunc ab ipso velut fonte petere  
7 Romanam amicitiam voluisse. Senatus non legatis modo benigne respondit, sed et ipse legatos cum donis ad regem misit, L. Genucium, P. Poetelium,  
8 P. Popillium. Dona tulere togam et tunicam purpuream, sellam eburneam, pateram ex quinque  
9 pondo auri <sup>3</sup> factam. Protinus et alios Africae regulos iussi adire. Iis quoque quae darentur portata, togae praetextae et terna pondo paterae  
10 aureae. Et Alexandream ad Ptolomaeum et Cleopatram reges M. Atilius et M'. Acilius legati, ad commemorandam renovandamque amicitiam missi, dona tulere, regi togam et tunicam purpuream cum sella eburnea, reginae pallam pictam cum amiculo purpureo.

- 11 Multa ea aestate qua haec facta sunt ex pro-

<sup>1</sup> quae is *SpN<sup>o</sup>JK Froben* 2: quaeque *P(1)N*.

<sup>2</sup> cum *ANJK*: rex cum *P(1) Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>3</sup> auri *P(1)N Aldus*: om. *SpJK* (these having auream after pateram).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXIV. xlviii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Like the *sella curulis*, with tusks for legs. As a present for kings cf. XXX. xv. 11; XXXI. xi. 12; XLII. xiv. 10. For the *patera* cf. XXVI. xlvii. 7 and note.

Manlius, the city praetor, sent a letter, together with B.C. 210 the letter of Marcus Marcellus, the consul, that from these letters Valerius might learn what reason the senators had for recalling him rather than his colleague from his province.

About the same time legates from King Syphax came to Rome, reporting what successes he had had in battle with the Carthaginians. They stated that the king was not more hostile to any people than to the Carthaginian, nor more friendly to any than to the Roman people; that previously he had sent legates to Spain to Gnaeus and Publius Cornelius,<sup>1</sup> the Roman generals; that now he was minded to seek Roman friendship, as it were at the very source. The senate not only replied graciously to the legates, but also sent its legates, Lucius Genucius, Publius Poetelius, Publius Popillius, to the king with gifts. They took with them as gifts a purple toga and tunic, an ivory chair,<sup>2</sup> a golden *patera* weighing five pounds. They were ordered to go on and visit other princes in Africa. For these also they took with them bordered togas and golden *paterae*, each of them three pounds in weight, to be presented to them. Also to Alexandria as ambassadors to the monarchs, Ptolemy and Cleopatra,<sup>3</sup> were sent Marcus Atilius and Manius Acilius, to call to mind and revive friendship with them. As gifts they carried for the king a purple toga and tunic, with an ivory chair, for the queen an embroidered palla and a purple cloak.

During the summer in which these events occurred

<sup>3</sup> Arsinoë was her real name, daughter of Ptolemy III, sister and wife of Ptolemy IV.



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pinquis urbibus agrisque nuntiata sunt prodigia: Tusculi agnum cum ubere lactenti natum, Iovis aedis culmen fulmine ictum ac prope omni tecto nudatum; 12 isdem ferme diebus Anagniae terram ante portam ictam diem ac noctem sine ullo ignis alimento arsisse, et aves ad compitum Anagninum in luco Dianae 13 nidos in arboribus reliquisse; Tarracinae in mari haud procul portu angues magnitudinis mirae lascivientium 14 piscium modo exsultasse; Tarquiniis porcum cum ore humano genitum, et in agro Capenate ad lucum Feroniae quattuor signa sanguine multo diem ac 15 noctem sudasse. Haec prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata decreto pontificum; et supplicatio diem unum<sup>1</sup> Romae ad omnia pulvinaria, alterum in Capenati agro ad Feroniae lucum indicta.

V. M. Valerius consul litteris excitus, provincia exercituque mandato L. Cincio praetori, M. Valerio Messalla praefecto classis cum parte navium in Africam praedatum simul speculatumque quae populus Carthaginensis ageret pararetque misso, 2 ipse decem navibus Romam profectus cum prospere pervenisset, senatum extemplo habuit, ubi<sup>2</sup> de suis 3 rebus gestis commemoravit: cum annos prope sexaginta in Sicilia terra marique magnis saepe

<sup>1</sup> unum *A<sup>n</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.*

<sup>2</sup> ubi *P(1)N Aldus: ibi SpJK Froben 2.*

<sup>1</sup> At the junction of the Via Latina and the Via Labicana, 40 miles from Rome by the latter.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXVI. xi. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXIV. x. 13 and note; XXI. lxii. 9; XXII. i. 15; x. 9.

many portents were reported from neighbouring cities and from the country: that at Tusculum a lamb was born with an udder full of milk, and that the ridge of Jupiter's temple was struck by lightning and stripped of almost all its roofing; that at Anagnia about the same time ground struck by lightning outside the gate burned for a day and a night without any fuel; and that at the crossroads<sup>1</sup> near Anagnia, in the grove of Diana, birds deserted their nests in the trees; that at Tarracina, in the sea not far from the harbour, serpents of remarkable size leaped about after the manner of fish at play; that at Tarquini a pig was born with a human face; and that in the territory of Capena, at the grove of Feronia,<sup>2</sup> four statues sweated blood profusely for a day and a night. These prodigies were atoned for with full-grown victims by decree of the pontiffs. And prayers were ordered for one day in Rome at all the *pulvinaria*,<sup>3</sup> and for a second day at the grove of Feronia, in the territory of Capena.

V. Marcus Valerius, the consul, on being summoned by the letter, assigned his province and army to Lucius Cincius,<sup>4</sup> a praetor, and sent Marcus Valerius Messalla, admiral of the fleet, with a part of his ships to Africa, to plunder and at the same time to find out what the Carthaginian state was doing and preparing to do. The consul himself set out for Rome with ten ships, and on his safe arrival he at once held a session of the senate, in which he set forth his own achievements: that for almost sixty years war had been carried on in Sicily by land and sea, often with great losses, but now he had completed

<sup>4</sup> The annalist Cincius Alimentus; XXVI. xxiii. 1; repeatedly mentioned in XXVII.

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cladibus bellatum esset, se eam provinciam confe-  
 cisse. Neminem Carthaginensem in Sicilia esse;  
 4 neminem Siculum non esse;<sup>1</sup> qui fugati metu inde  
 afuerint, omnis in urbes, in agros suos reductos arare,  
 5 serere;<sup>2</sup> desertam recoli terram, tandem<sup>3</sup> frugiferam  
 ipsis cultoribus, populoque Romano pace ac bello  
 6 fidissimum annonae subsidium. Exim Muttine et si  
 quorum aliorum merita erga populum Romanum  
 erant in senatum introductis, honores omnibus ad ex-  
 7 solvendam fidem consulis<sup>4</sup> habiti. Muttines etiam  
 civis Romanus factus, rogatione ab tribunis<sup>5</sup> plebis  
 ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem lata.  
 8 Dum haec Romae geruntur, M. Valerius quinquaginta  
 navibus cum ante lucem ad Africam accessisset,  
 inproviso in agrum Uticensem escensionem fecit;  
 9 eumque late depopulatus multis mortalibus cum alia  
 omnis generis praeda captis ad naves redit atque in<sup>6</sup>  
 Siciliam tramisit, tertio decumo die quam profectus  
 10 inde erat,<sup>7</sup> Lilybaeum revector. Ex captivis quac-  
 stione habita haec comperta consulique Laevino  
 omnia ordine perscripta, ut sciret quo in statu  
 11 res Africae<sup>8</sup> essent: quinque milia Numidarum  
 cum Masinissa, Galae filio, acerrimo iuvene, Cartha-

<sup>1</sup> non esse, placed here by Madvig: after afuerint  
 P(1)NJKSp?

<sup>2</sup> serere N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.

<sup>3</sup> tandem, here P(1)N Aldus: before terram JK Froben 2.

<sup>4</sup> consulis SpJK Froben 2: a consule P(1)N Aldus: con-  
 sulis a consule conj. Conway.

<sup>5</sup> tribunis x Luchs: abbrev. P(1)NK: tribuno J Eds.

<sup>6</sup> atque in JK Froben 2: et ad P(1)N Aldus.

<sup>7</sup> erat N<sup>2</sup>JK Froben 2: om. P(1)N.

<sup>8</sup> res Africae SpJK Froben 2: Africae res P(1)N Aldus.

the conquest of that province. He said that there A.C. 210  
 was not a Carthaginian in Sicily; that not a Sicilian  
 was absent; that those who had been absent,  
 banished by their fears, had all been brought back to  
 their cities, to their lands, and were ploughing and  
 sowing; that a deserted land was again under cul-  
 tivation, productive at last for the farmers them-  
 selves, and for the Roman people in peace and in war  
 a most dependable source of the grain supply.<sup>1</sup> Then  
 Muttines and any others who had done services to  
 the Roman people were brought into the senate, and  
 honours were bestowed upon them all, in fulfilment  
 of the consul's promise.<sup>2</sup> Muttines was even made a  
 Roman citizen, when in accordance with a decree of  
 the senate a bill had been proposed to the plebs by  
 its tribunes.

While these events were occurring at Rome,  
 Marcus Valerius, having approached the coast of  
 Africa with fifty ships before daybreak, made an  
 unexpected landing on the territory of Utica. And  
 this he ravaged far and wide, captured many per-  
 sons together with other booty of every description,  
 returned to his ships and crossed over to Sicily,  
 sailing back to Lilybaeum on the 13th day after he  
 had left that port. Upon inquiry made from the  
 captives the following facts were ascertained and  
 written down fully and in order for the consul  
 Laevinus, that he might know what the condition  
 of affairs in Africa was: that five thousand Numi-  
 dians were at Carthage under Masinissa,<sup>3</sup> son of Gala

<sup>1</sup> As in XXVI. xl. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Muttines' service was the betrayal of Agrigentum;  
 XXVI. xl. 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXIV. xlix. 1 ff.; XXV. xxxiv. 1 ff.

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- gine esse, et alios per totam Africam milites mercede  
conduci qui in Hispaniam ad Hasdrubalem trai-  
cerentur, ut is quam maximo exercitu primo quoque  
tempore in Italiam transgressus iungeret se Hannibali;  
in eo positam victoriam credere Carthaginenses;  
classem praeterea ingentem apparari ad Siciliam  
repetendam, eamque se credere brevi traiectionem.  
Haec recitata a consule ita movere senatum ut non  
exspectanda comitia consuli censerent,<sup>1</sup> sed dictatore  
comitiorum habendorum causa dicto<sup>2</sup> extemplo in  
provinciam redeundum. Illa disceptatio tenebat,  
quod consul in Sicilia se M. Valerium Messallam, qui  
tum classi praeesset, dictatorem dicturum esse aie-  
bat, patres extra Romanum agrum—eum autem  
Italia<sup>3</sup> terminari—negabant dictatorem dici posse.  
M. Lucretius tribunus plebis cum de ea re consuleret,  
ita decrevit senatus, ut consul, priusquam ab urbe  
discederet, populum rogaret quem dictatorem dici  
placeret, eumque quem populus iussisset diceret  
dictatorem; si consul nolisset, praetor populum  
rogaret; si ne is quidem vellet, tum tribuni ad plebem  
ferrent. Cum consul se populum rogaturum negasset  
quod suae potestatis esset, praetoremque vetuisset  
rogare, tribuni plebem<sup>4</sup> rogarunt, plebesque scivit

<sup>1</sup> censerent *P(1)N Aldus*: censeret *SpJK Froben 2*.<sup>2</sup> dictatore . . . dicto *SpJK Froben 2*: -rem . . . dici et *P(1)N Aldus*.<sup>3</sup> Italia *A\*JK Madvig*: in Italia *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*.<sup>4</sup> plebem *K Conway*: pl or plebis *P(1)NJ Aldus, Froben*.<sup>1</sup> For a tribune presiding in the senate cf. XXII. lxi. 7.<sup>2</sup> I.e. the *comitia centuriata*.<sup>3</sup> Probably meaning the *comitia tributa* here, as directly contrasted with the *centuriata*. Livy uses the term *plebis concilium* in § 18 just below, but in such technicalities he is

and a most impetuous young man; and that other a.o. 210  
soldiers were being hired everywhere in Africa, to be  
sent over to Hasdrubal in Spain, so that he should  
cross over into Italy with the largest possible army as  
soon as he could and join Hannibal; that upon this  
the Carthaginians believed that victory depended;  
furthermore that a very large fleet was being made  
ready, for the purpose of recovering Sicily; and he  
believed that fleet would soon make the passage.  
These statements as read by the consul so swayed  
the senators that they decided that he must not wait  
for the elections, but that after appointing a dictator  
to conduct the elections, the consul must at once  
return to his province. Debate continued on one  
point—namely, the consul kept promising to appoint  
in Sicily Marcus Valerius Messalla, then in command  
of the fleet, as dictator, while the fathers maintained  
that a dictator could not be appointed outside of  
Roman territory, and that this was confined to Italy.  
When Marcus Lucretius, tribune of the plebs, sought  
to know its pleasure<sup>1</sup> in the matter, the senate de-  
creed that, before leaving the city, the consul should  
ask the people<sup>2</sup> whom they preferred to have named  
dictator, and should name as dictator the man  
ordered by the people; that if the consul should  
refuse, the praetor should ask the people; in case  
of his refusal also, the tribunes should bring the  
matter before the commons.<sup>3</sup> When the consul  
refused to submit to the people a question that  
belonged to his own authority, and forbade the  
praetor to do so, the tribunes asked the commons

very often vague, e.g. in XXV. iii. 13-iv. 9. In 217 B.C.,  
after Trasumennus, the *populus* had made Fabius Maximus  
dictator; XXII. viii. 6.

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ut Q. Fulvius, qui tum ad Capuam erat, dictator  
18 diceretur. Sed quo die id plebis concilium futurum  
erat, consul clam nocte in Siciliam abiit; destitutique  
patres litteras ad M. Claudium mittendas censuerunt  
ut desertae ab conlega rei publicae subveniret dice-  
19 retque quem populus iussisset dictatorem. Ita a M.  
Claudio consule Q. Fulvius dictator dictus, et ex  
eodem plebis scito ab Q. Fulvio dictatore P. Licinius  
Crassus pontifex maximus magister equitum dictus.

VI. Dictator postquam Romam venit, C. Sempro-  
nium Blaesum legatum, quem ad Capuam habuerat,  
in Etruriam provinciam ad exercitum misit in locum  
C. Calpurni praetoris, quem, ut Capuae exercituique  
2 suo praeesset, litteris excivit. Ipse comitia in  
quem diem primum potuit edixit; quae certamine  
inter<sup>1</sup> tribunos dictatoremque iniecto perfici non  
3 potuerunt. Galeria iuniorum, quae sorte praero-  
gativa erat, Q. Fulvium et Q. Fabium consules  
dixerat, eodemque iure vocatae inclinassent, ni se<sup>2</sup>  
4 tribuni plebis C. et L. Arrenii interposuissent, qui  
neque magistratum continuari satis civile esse  
aiebant, et multo foedioris exempli eum ipsum  
5 creari qui comitia haberet; itaque si suum nomen

<sup>1</sup> inter A<sup>JK</sup> Aldus, Froben: in P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> ni se Drakenborch: nisi P(1)N.

<sup>1</sup> Marcellus, still in Apulia, did not come to Rome; ii. 12; iv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For the *sors praerogativae* and *centuria praerogativa* of XXIV. vii. 12; ix. 3; XXVI. xxii. 13.

and the commons ordained that Quintus Fulvius, B.C. 210  
who was then at Capua, should be named dictator.  
But on the day on which that plebeian assembly was  
to be held the consul left for Sicily secretly by night.  
And the fathers, being deserted, voted to send a  
letter to Marcus Claudius, that he should come to the  
aid of the state abandoned by his colleague, and  
should name as dictator whomsoever the people  
might command. Thus Quintus Fulvius was named  
dictator by Marcus Claudius,<sup>1</sup> the consul, and in  
accordance with the same decree of the commons  
Publius Licinius Crassus, pontifex maximus, was  
named master of the horse by Quintus Fulvius as  
dictator.

VI. On coming to Rome the dictator sent Gaius  
Sempronius Blaesus, his lieutenant, whom he had  
had at Capua, into Etruria as his province, to be with  
the army, taking the place of the praetor Gaius  
Calpurnius, whom he had summoned by letter to take  
command of Capua and his own army. As for him-  
self, he proclaimed the elections for the earliest  
possible date. But owing to the conflict which arose  
between the tribunes and the dictator the election  
could not be completed. The Galeria century of  
the younger men, which obtained by lot the right to  
vote first,<sup>2</sup> had voted for Quintus Fulvius and Quintus  
Fabius as consuls; and the centuries called in the  
legal order would have inclined in the same direction,  
if the tribunes of the plebs, Gaius and Lucius Arre-  
nius, had not intervened. They repeated that to  
prolong a magistracy was not consistent with the  
common interest, and also that it was a much more  
dangerous precedent for the man who was con-  
ducting the election to be himself elected. Accord-

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dictator acciperet, se comitiis intercessuros; si aliorum praeterquam ipsius ratio haberetur, comitiis  
6 se moram non facere. Dictator causam comitiorum auctoritate senatus, plebis scito, exemplis tuta-  
7 batur: namque Cn. Servilio consule, cum C. Flaminio alter consul ad Trasumennum cecidisset, ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem latum, plebemque scivisse<sup>1</sup> ut, quoad bellum in Italia esset, ex iis qui consules fuissent quos et quotiens vellet reficiendi  
8 consules populo ius esset; exempla<sup>2</sup> in eam rem se habere, vetus L. Postumi Megelli, qui interrex iis comitiis quae ipse habuisset consul cum C. Iunio Bubulco creatus esset; recens Q. Fabii, qui sibi continuari consulatum, nisi id bono publico fieret,  
9 profecto numquam sisset.<sup>3</sup> His orationibus cum diu certatum esset, postremo ita inter dictatorem ac tribunos convenit ut eo quod censuisset senatus  
10 staretur. Patribus id tempus rei publicae visum est ut per veteres et expertos bellicae peritos imperatores res publica gereretur; itaque moram fieri  
11 comitiis non placere. Concedentibus tribunis comitia habita; declarati consules Q. Fabius Maximus  
12 quintum, Q. Fulvius Flaccus quartum. Praetores inde<sup>4</sup> creati L. Veturius Philo, T. Quinctius Crispinus,

<sup>1</sup> scivisse *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: iussisse *SpA<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK*.

<sup>2</sup> exempla<sup>2</sup> *SpJK Froben* 2: exemplumque (*or* -quae) *P(1)N Aldus*.

<sup>3</sup> sisset *P(3)*: sivisset *CAN<sup>1</sup> Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>4</sup> inde *A<sup>1</sup>JKx*: in *P*: *om. P<sup>2</sup>(1)N Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>1</sup> This important act was overlooked by Livy in Book XXII. A plebiscite of 330 B.C., requiring an interval of ten years, was repeatedly disregarded in this period. Cf. VII. xlii; X. xiii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> For the third time, 291 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> 215 B.C.; XXIV. ix. 3 and 9 ff.

ingly, they said, if the dictator admitted his own name, they would veto the election; if other men than himself were considered, they would not delay the election. The dictator defended the procedure in the election by the authority of the senate, by the decree of the commons, by precedents. For, he said, in the consulship of Gnaeus Servilius, when Gaius Flaminius, the other consul, had fallen at Trasumennus, by authority of the fathers it was proposed to the commons, and the commons had ordained that, so long as the war remained in Italy, the people should have the right to re-elect as consuls the men they pleased and as often as they pleased from the number of those who had been consuls.<sup>1</sup> He added that he had precedents for so doing: an old instance, that of Lucius Postumius Megellus, who as *interrex* had been elected consul<sup>2</sup> with Gaius Iunius Bubulcus at an election which he had himself conducted; and a recent case, that of Quintus Fabius,<sup>3</sup> who surely would never have permitted his consulship to be prolonged unless it were done for the public welfare. After a contest long continued by such speeches, final agreement between the dictator and the tribunes was reached: that they would stand by whatever the senate should decide. To the fathers it seemed a time for the state to have its affairs in the hands of generals mature and experienced and skilled in war; and so they said they did not favour any delaying of the election. Since the tribunes gave way, the election was held. Quintus Fabius Maximus was declared consul for the fifth time, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth. Then as praetors the following were elected: Lucius Veturius Philo, Titus Quinctius Crispinus, Gaius Hostilius

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- C. Hostilius Tubulus, C. Aurunculeius. Magistratibus in annum creatis Q. Fulvius dictatura se abdicavit.
- 13 Extremo aestatis huius classis Punica navium quadraginta cum praefecto Hamilcare in Sardiniam
- 14 traiecta, Olbiensem primo, dein,<sup>1</sup> postquam ibi P. Manlius Volso praetor cum exercitu apparuit, circumacta inde ad alterum insulae latus, Caralitanum agrum vastavit, et cum praeda omnis generis in Africam redit.<sup>2</sup>
- 15 Sacerdotes Romani eo anno mortui aliquot suffectique: C. Servilius pontifex factus in locum T. Otacilii Crassi; Ti. Sempronius Ti. f. Longus augur factus
- 16 in locum T. Otacilii Crassi;<sup>3</sup> decemvir item sacris faciundis in locum Ti. Semproni C. f. Longi Ti. Sempronius Ti. f. Longus suffectus. M. Marcius rex sacrorum mortuus est et M. Aemilius Papus maximus curio; neque in eorum locum sacerdotes eo anno suffecti.
- 17 Et censores hic annus habuit L. Veturium Philonem et P. Licinium Crassum, maximum pontificem. Crassus Licinius nec consul nec praetor ante fuerat quam censor est factus; ex aedilitate gradum ad
- 18 censuram fecit. Sed hi censores neque senatum legerunt neque quicquam publicae rei egerunt: mors diremit L. Veturi; inde et Licinius censura se

<sup>1</sup> dein P(1)N Froben 2: deinde JK Aldus.

<sup>2</sup> redit P(1)N: rediit C<sup>1</sup>?M<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>3</sup> factus . . . Crassi, bracketed by Malvig, while JK Aldus, Froben omit Ti. Sempronius . . . Crassi, three lines in P, found also in (1).

<sup>1</sup> Cagliari, at the south end of the island, originally settled by Phoenicians, as had been Olbia on the northeast coast. Sardinia and Corsica had been taken by the Romans shortly after the First Punic War; XXI. i. 5; *Periocha* 20.

Tubulus, Gaius Aurunculeius. The magistrates a.c. 210 having been elected for the year, Quintus Fulvius abdicated his dictatorship.

At the end of this summer a Carthaginian fleet of forty ships under command of the prefect Hamilcar crossed over to Sardinia and first laid waste the region of Olbia. Then after Publius Manlius Volso, the praetor, showed himself there with an army, the fleet coasted around from Olbia to the other side of the island, ravaged the territory of Carales<sup>1</sup> and returned with booty of every kind to Africa.

Of the Roman priests a number died that year and successors were appointed. Gaius Servilius was made pontifex in place of Titus Otacilius Crassus; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, was made augur in place of Titus Otacilius Crassus. In like manner Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, was appointed decemvir for the performance of rites in place of Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Gaius. Marcus Marcius, *rex sacrorum*, and Marcus Aemilius Papus, the chief *curio*,<sup>2</sup> died; and no priests were appointed that year in their places.

And this year had as censors Lucius Veturius Philo and Publius Licinius Crassus, pontifex maximus. Crassus Licinius had been neither consul nor praetor before he became censor; he made but one step from aedileship to censorship. But these censors neither revised the senate list nor did any public business. The death of Veturius dissolved their censorship,<sup>3</sup> consequently Licinius abdicated

<sup>1</sup> Each of the 30 *curiae* was headed by a *curio*, and at the head of the *curiones* was the *maximus curio*, whose duties were religious; cf. viii. 1-3; III. vii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The only office that was terminated by the death of a colleague. Cf. XXIV. xliii. 4.

A.U.C. 19 abdicavit. Aediles curules L. Veturius et P. Licinius  
 844 Varus ludos Romanos diem unum instaurarunt. Aediles plebei<sup>1</sup> Q. Cadius et L. Porcius Licinus ex multaticio argento signa aenea ad Cereris<sup>2</sup> dedere, et ludos pro temporis eius<sup>3</sup> copia magnifice apparatus<sup>4</sup> fecerunt.

VII. Exitu anni huius C. Laelius legatus Scipionis<sup>5</sup> die quarto et tricensimo quam a Tarracone profectus erat Romam venit; isque cum agmine captivorum ingressus urbem magnum concursum hominum<sup>2</sup> fecit. Postero die in senatum introductus captam Carthaginem, caput Hispaniae, uno die, receptasque aliquot urbes quae defecissent novasque in societatem<sup>3</sup> adscitas exposuit. Ex captivis comperta iis fere congruentia quae in litteris fuerant M. Valerii Messallae. Maxime movit patres Hasdrubalis transitus in Italiam, vix Hannibali atque eius armis<sup>4</sup> obsistentem.<sup>6</sup> Productus et in<sup>7</sup> contionem Laelius eadem edisseruit.<sup>8</sup> Senatus ob res feliciter a

<sup>1</sup> plebei (or -eii) PCR: plebis M<sup>1</sup>BDANJK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> Cereris A<sup>2</sup>J Aldus, Froben (also K, inserting edem = aedem): cererem N<sup>1</sup>: ceteris PCR; ceteros R<sup>2</sup>MBDAN.

<sup>3</sup> eius SpA<sup>1</sup>JK Froben 2: huius P(1)N Aldus.

<sup>4</sup> magnifice apparatus SpJKz Froben 2: -fici -atus P(1)N Aldus, Conway.

<sup>5</sup> C. Laelius legatus Scipionis om. P(1)N, a line supplied from A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK.

<sup>6</sup> obsistentem A<sup>2</sup>z Froben 2: subsistentem P(1)JK Aldus.

<sup>7</sup> et in P(1)N: in JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>8</sup> edisseruit P (aed.): disseruit P<sup>2</sup>(1)NJK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>1</sup> He was consul in 206 B.C.; XXVIII. x. 8.

his office. The curule aediles, Lucius Veturius<sup>1</sup> B.C. 210 and Publius Licinius Varus, renewed the Roman Games for one day. The plebeian aediles, Quintus Cadius and Lucius Porcius Licinus, out of money paid in fines set up bronze statues at the Temple of Ceres,<sup>2</sup> and they celebrated the games with splendid appointments, considering the resources of the time.

VII. At the end of this year<sup>3</sup> Gaius Laelius, Scipio's lieutenant, came to Rome on the thirty-fourth day after leaving Tarraco. And on entering the city with a train of captives<sup>4</sup> he occasioned a great concourse of people. Introduced into the senate the next day, he set forth the capture of (New) Carthage, chief city of Spain, in a single day, and the recovery of a number of cities that had revolted, and the admission of new cities into alliance. From the captives they ascertained facts which in general agreed with statements previously made in the letter of Marcus Valerius Messalla.<sup>5</sup> What especially stirred the fathers was Hasdrubal's proposed crossing into Italy, which was with difficulty withstanding Hannibal and his arms. On being brought before an assembly also, Laelius discoursed on the same subject. The senate decreed a thanksgiving for

<sup>1</sup> This was the temple of the Roman plebeians and headquarters of the plebeian aediles, who conducted these *ludi plebei* in November. It was founded 493 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> This late season may be drawn from a different authority, since the capture of New Carthage has been described as taking place in the spring, and 40 days would have been sufficient for the entire voyage. But see De Sanctis *l.c.* pp. 468 f.; cf. XXVI. li. 2.

<sup>3</sup> About 15 senators of New Carthage, according to XXVI. *l.c.*, in addition to Mago, the commandant; cf. Polybius X. xviii. 1; xix. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. v. 8 and 10-13.

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P. Scipione gestas supplicationem<sup>1</sup> in unum diem decrevit; C. Laelium primo quoque tempore cum quibus venerat navibus redire in Hispaniam iussit.—

5 Carthaginis expugnationem in hunc annum contuli multis auctoribus, haud nescius quosdam esse qui  
6 anno insequenti captam tradiderint, quod<sup>2</sup> mihi minus simile veri visum est annum integrum Scipionem nihil gerundo in Hispania consumpsisse.

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7 Q. Fabio Maximo quintum, Q. Fulvio Flacco quartum consulibus, idibus Martiis, quo die magistratum inierunt, Italia ambobus provincia decreta, regionibus tamen partitum imperium: Fabius ad Tarentum, Fulvius in Lucanis ac Bruttii rem gereret.

8 M. Claudio prorogatum in annum imperium. Praetores sortiti provincias, C. Hostilius Tubulus urbanam, L. Veturius Philo peregrinam cum Gallia, T. Quinctius Crispinus Capuam, C. Aurunculeius Sardiniam.

9 Exercitus ita per provincias divisi: Fulvio duae legiones quas in Sicilia M. Valerius Laevinus haberet, Q. Fabio, quibus in Etruria C. Calpurnius praefuisset; urbanus<sup>3</sup> exercitus ut in Etruriam succederet; C.

10 Calpurnius eidem praeesset provinciae exercituique;

<sup>1</sup> supplicationem *Sp/A\*N Froben 2: om. P(1)N: -nes C<sup>4</sup>x Aldus.*

<sup>2</sup> quod *P(1)N Aldus: sed SpJK Froben 2.*

<sup>3</sup> praefuisset; urbanus *A\*N\*JK: om. P(1)N, one line.*

<sup>1</sup> A single quinquereme was mentioned XXVI. li. 2 (see note there). Smaller vessels, not deserving of mention in comparison with the quinquereme, probably escorted her.

<sup>2</sup> The chronology now accepted is based on Polybius, from whose Book X. it is shown that New Carthage was taken in 209 B.C. Cf. XXVI. xviii. 2, note; De Sanctis *ibid.* By Livy's reckoning 208 B.C. is the year in which Scipio did nothing, since the historian has anticipated the battle of Baecula also by one year.

one day on account of Publius Scipio's successes. It B.C. 210 ordered Gaius Laelius to return as soon as possible to Spain on the ships<sup>1</sup> with which he had come.—The storming of (New) Carthage I have set in this year on the authority of many writers, though not unaware that there are some who have related its capture in the following year.<sup>2</sup> I have done so because it has seemed to me less probable that Scipio spent a whole year in Spain doing nothing.

Quintus Fabius Maximus being now consul for the B.C. 209 fifth and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth time, on the Ides of March, the day of their entry upon office, Italy was assigned to the two as their province; their military authority, however, was geographically divided. Fabius was to command around Tarentum, Fulvius in Lucania and the land of the Bruttii. For Marcus Claudius his command was prolonged for one year. The praetors received their assignments by lot, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus the city praetorship, Lucius Veturius Philo the jurisdiction over foreigners, together with Gaul;<sup>3</sup> Titus Quinctius Crispinus received Capua, Gaius Aurunculeius Sardinia. The armies were distributed among the assignments as follows: to Fulvius the two legions which Marcus Valerius Laevinus had in Sicily, to Quintus Fabius those which Gaius Calpurnius had commanded in Etruria; the army at the city was to take the place of that in Etruria; Gaius Calpurnius was to be in command of that province and its army;

<sup>1</sup> I.e. his duties as a judge are to be taken over by the praetor urbanus, in order to leave the praetor peregrinus free to take the field as a commander; cf. xxii. 3; xxvi. 11; XXV. iii. 2 and note.



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- Capuam<sup>1</sup> exercitumque quem Q. Fulvius habuisset  
 11 T. Quinctius obtineret. C. Hostilius ab C. Laetorio  
 propaetore provinciam exercitumque qui tum  
 Arimini erat acciperet. M. Marcello quibus consul  
 12 rem gesserat legiones decretae. M. Valerio cum  
 L. Cincio—iis quoque enim prorogatum in Sicilia  
 imperium—Cannensis exercitus datus, eumque  
 supplere ex militibus qui ex legionibus Cn. Fulvi  
 13 superessent iussi. Conquisitos eos consules in Siciliam  
 miserunt; additaque eadem militiae ignominia<sup>2</sup>  
 sub qua Cannenses militabant quique ex praetoris  
 Cn. Fulvi exercitu ob similis iram fugae missi eo ab  
 14 senatu fuerant. C. Aurunculeio eadem in Sardinia<sup>3</sup>  
 legiones quibus P. Manlius Volso eam provinciam  
 15 obtinuerat decretae. P. Sulpicio eadem legione  
 eademque classe Macedoniam obtinere iusso proro-  
 gatum in annum imperium. Triginta quinqueres  
 ex Sicilia Tarentum ad Q. Fabium consulem mitti  
 16 iussae; cetera classe placere<sup>4</sup> praedatum in Africam  
 aut ipsum M. Valerium Laevinum traicere, aut  
 mittere<sup>5</sup> seu L. Cincium seu M. Valerium Messallam

<sup>1</sup> exercitumque; Capuam *Sp/A<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Froben: om. P(1)N, one line.*

<sup>2</sup> -dem militiae ignominia *om. P(1)N, one line supplied from Sp, as above.*

<sup>3</sup> in Sardinia; following these words there was a long gap in *S, as we know from Rhenanus, extending up to ix. 14 idem socios.*

<sup>4</sup> placere *A<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus: om. P(1)N.*

<sup>5</sup> Laevinum traicere, aut mittere *A<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus: messallam misere P(1)N(A<sup>o</sup>).*

<sup>1</sup> An error for Lucius Veturius Philo, who was assigned to Cisalpine Gaul, while Hostilius as city-praetor must remain at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. i. 7-12.

Titus Quinctius was to be in charge of Capua and the B.C. 209  
 army which Quintus Fulvius had held. Gaius Hos-  
 tilius<sup>1</sup> was to take over from Gaius Laetorius, the  
 propaetor, his province and the army which was then  
 at Ariminum. To Marcus Marcellus were assigned  
 the legions with which he had carried on operations  
 as consul. To Marcus Valerius and Lucius Cincius—  
 for their command in Sicily was also prolonged—  
 was assigned the army from Cannae, and they were  
 ordered to recruit it from the soldiers who survived  
 from the legions of Gnaeus Fulvius.<sup>2</sup> These were  
 sought out and sent by the consuls into Sicily. And  
 there was added the same humiliation in the service  
 as that under which the men from Cannae were  
 serving, and those from the army of the praetor  
 Gnaeus Fulvius,<sup>3</sup> who had been sent thither by the  
 senate out of anger on account of their similar flight.  
 To Gaius Aurunculeius in Sardinia were assigned the  
 same legions with which Publius Manlius Volso had  
 held that province.<sup>4</sup> Publius Sulpicius was ordered  
 to hold Macedonia with the same legion<sup>5</sup> and the  
 same fleet, and his command was prolonged for one  
 year. Thirty quinqueres were ordered to be sent  
 from Sicily to Quintus Fabius, the consul, at Taren-  
 tum. With the rest of his fleet it was the will of the  
 senate, he was informed, that Marcus Valerius  
 Laevinus should either cross over into Africa him-  
 self to plunder the country, or should send at  
 his discretion Lucius Cincius or Marcus Valerius

<sup>1</sup> For the defeat of this Fulvius (doubted by recent his-  
 torians) cf. note on i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXVI. xxviii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> In spite of XXVI. xxviii. 9 he seems to retain one legion,  
 not mentioned, however, below at xxii. 10.

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VIII. Inter maiorum rerum curas comitia maximi curionis, cum in locum M. Aemili sacerdos crearetur, 2 vetus excitaverunt certamen, patriciis negantibus C. Mamili Atelli, qui unus ex plebe petebat, habendam rationem esse, quia nemo ante eum nisi ex patribus 3 id sacerdotium habuisset. Tribuni appellati ad senatum rem<sup>2</sup> reiecerunt; senatus populi potestatem fecit: ita primus ex plebe creatus maximus curio 4 C. Mamilius Atellus. Et flaminem Dialem invitum inaugurari coegit P. Licinius pontifex maximus C. Valerium Flaccum; decemvirum sacris faciundis creatus in locum Q. Muci Scaevolae demortui C. 5 Laetorius. Causam inaugurari coacti flaminis libens reticuissem, ni ex mala fama in bonam vertisset. Ob adulescentiam negligentem luxuriosamque C. Flaccus flamen captus a P. Licinio pontifice maximo erat, L. Flacco fratri germano cognatisque aliis ob 6 eadem vitia invisus. Is ut animum eius cura sacrorum et caerimoniarum cepit, ita repente exiit antiquos mores ut nemo tota iuventute haberetur prior nec

<sup>1</sup> vellet A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus: om. P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> rem Gronovius: om. P(1)NJK.

<sup>1</sup> On this Livy's authorities must have differed, for a year later we read that their commands were prolonged for one year; xxii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vi. 16 and note.

Messalla. And in regard to Spain no change was made, except that the commands of Scipio and Silanus were prolonged, not for one year, but until they should be recalled by the senate.<sup>1</sup> Thus were the assignments and army commands apportioned for that year.

VIII. In the midst of their attention to more important matters the election of a *maximus curio*,<sup>2</sup> when they were choosing a priest to succeed Marcus Aemilius, stirred up an old contest. The patricians declared that no regard should be paid to C. Mamilius Atellus, the one plebeian who was a candidate, since no one not a patrician had previously held that priesthood. The tribunes were appealed to, and referred the case back to the senate; the senate gave the people power to decide. Thus as the first plebeian Gaius Mamilius Atellus was elected *maximus curio*. And Publius Licinius, the pontifex maximus, compelled Gaius Valerius Flaccus to be installed as flamen of Jupiter, although unwilling. Gaius Laetorius was named one of the decemviri for the performance of rites in place of Quintus Mucius Scaevola deceased. The reason for installing a flamen perforce I should gladly have passed over in silence, had not his reputation changed from bad to good. Because of his irresponsible and dissipated youth Gaius Flaccus, who was odious to his own brother, Lucius Flaccus, and other relatives on account of the same vices, had been seized upon as flamen by Publius Licinius, pontifex maximus. As soon as the charge of rites and ceremonies took possession of his mind, Gaius so suddenly put off his old character that no one among all the young men stood higher in the estimation and approval of the leading sena-

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- probatior primoribus patrum, suis pariter alienisque,  
 7 esset. Huius famae consensu elatus ad iustam  
 fiduciam sui rem intermissam per multos annos ob  
 indignitatem flaminum priorum repetivit, ut in  
 8 senatum introiret. Ingressum eum curiam cum  
 P.<sup>1</sup> Licinius praetor inde eduxisset, tribunos plebis  
 appellavit. Flamen vetustum ius sacerdotii repe-  
 bat: datum id cum toga praetexta et sella curuli ei <sup>2</sup>  
 9 flamonio esse. Praetor non exoletis vetustate  
 annalium exemplis stare ius, sed recentissimae  
 cuiusque consuetudinis usu volebat: nec patrum  
 nec avorum memoria Dialem quemquam id ius  
 10 usurpasse. Tribuni rem inertia flaminum oblittera-  
 tam ipsis, non sacerdotio damno fuisse cum aequom  
 censuissent, ne ipso quidem contra tendente praetore,  
 magno adsensu patrum plebisque flaminem in  
 senatum introduxerunt, omnibus ita existimantibus,  
 magis sanctitate vitae quam sacerdotii iure eam rem  
 flaminem obtinuisse.
- 11 Consules priusquam in provincias irent, duas urba-  
 nas legiones in supplementum quantum opus erat  
 12 ceteris exercitibus militum scripserunt. Urbanum  
 veterem exercitum Fulvius consul C. Fulvio Flacco  
 legato—frater hic consulis erat—in Etruriam dedit  
 ducendum et legiones quae in Etruria erant Romam  
 13 deducendas. Et Fabius consul reliquias exercitus

<sup>1</sup> P. Glareanus, Sigonius: L. P(1)N Aldus.<sup>2</sup> ei Madvig: et P(1)N: est J.<sup>1</sup> As now a member of the senate.

tors, both of his own family and of strangers alike. B.C. 209  
 By the unanimity of this good report he was raised  
 to a well-founded self-confidence, and claimed what  
 had been in abeyance for many years owing to the  
 unworthiness of former flamens, namely, that he  
 should be admitted to the senate. When he had  
 entered the Senate House, and the praetor, Publius  
 Licinius, had escorted him out of it, he appealed to  
 the tribunes of the plebs. The flamen insistently  
 claimed an ancient right of his priesthood, saying it  
 had been granted to that office of flamen along with  
 the *toga praetexta* and the *sella curulis*. The praetor  
 maintained that a right was based, not upon outmoded  
 instances from the annals, but in each case upon very  
 recent practice; and that within the memory neither  
 of their fathers nor grandfathers had any flamen of  
 Jupiter exercised that right. The tribunes expressed  
 the opinion that obsolescence due to the indolence of  
 flamens was justly accounted their own loss, not a  
 loss to the priestly office. Whereupon, without  
 opposition even from the praetor himself, and with  
 the general approval of the senators and of the  
 commons, the tribunes led the flamen into the  
 senate,<sup>1</sup> for it was the opinion of everyone that the  
 flamen had carried his point rather by the upright-  
 ness of his life than by virtue of priestly privilege.

The consuls, before leaving for their provinces,  
 enrolled two city legions to supplement the other  
 armies so far as was necessary. The duty of leading  
 the former city army into Etruria the consul Fulvius  
 assigned to Gaius Fulvius Flaccus, his lieutenant—  
 this was the consul's brother—also that of bringing  
 the legions that were in Etruria away to Rome.  
 And Fabius, the consul, ordered his son Quintus

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- Fulviani conquisitas—fuere autem ad quattuor milia <sup>1</sup> trecenti quadraginta quattuor—Q. Maximum filium ducere in Siciliam ad M. Valerium proconsulem iussit, atque ab eo duas legiones et triginta quin-  
 14 queremes accipere. Nihil eae deductae <sup>2</sup> ex insula legiones minuerunt nec viribus nec specie eius pro-  
 15 vinciae praesidium; nam cum praeter egregie suppletas duas veteres legiones transfugarum etiam Numidarum equitum peditumque magnam vim haberet, Siculos quoque qui in exercitu Epicydis aut Poenorum fuerant, belli peritos viros, milites scripsit.  
 16 Ea externa auxilia cum singulis Romanis legionibus adiunxisset, duorum speciem exercituum servavit: altero L. Cincium partem insulae regnum qua <sup>3</sup>  
 17 Hieronis fuerat tueri iussit; altero ipse ceteram insulam tuebatur, divisam quondam Romani Punicque imperii finibus, classe quoque navium <sup>4</sup> septuaginta partita, ut omni ambitu litorum praesidio <sup>5</sup> orae  
 18 maritumae essent. Ipse cum Muttinis equitatu provinciam peragrabat, ut viseret agros cultaque ab incultis notaret et perinde dominos laudaret  
 19 castigaretque. Ita tantum ea cura frumenti provenit ut et Romam mitteret et Catinam conveheret

<sup>1</sup> quattuor milia (∞ ∞ ∞ ∞) PC: om. by rest of (1): tria milia x Aldus.

<sup>2</sup> deductae A': eductae P(3)JK Aldus: educte A'N.

<sup>3</sup> regnum qua P(1)N: qua regnum A'J.

<sup>4</sup> navium C<sup>4</sup>x Aldus: om. P(1)NJK.

<sup>5</sup> praesidio C<sup>4</sup>JK Aldus: -dia P(1)N.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vii. 15.

Maximus to search out the remains of the Fulvian A.D. 299 army <sup>1</sup>—and they amounted to four thousand three hundred and forty-four—and to conduct them to Sicily to Marcus Valerius, the proconsul; also to receive from him two legions and thirty quinqueremes.<sup>2</sup> The withdrawal of these legions from the islands did not reduce the garrison of that province at all either in actual strength or in appearance. For Valerius, in addition to the two old legions remarkably well recruited, had a large number of Numidian deserters also, cavalry and infantry; and he enrolled Sicilians likewise who had been in the army of Epicydes <sup>3</sup> or of the Carthaginians, being men trained in warfare. Having attached these foreign auxiliary forces to each of the Roman legions, he preserved the appearance of two armies. With the one he ordered Lucius Cincius to defend that part of the island where had been the kingdom of Hiero; with the other he himself defended the rest of the island, formerly divided by the boundaries between the Roman and the Punic empires.<sup>4</sup> The fleet also of seventy ships was divided, so that they might protect the seacoast around its entire circuit. Valerius himself with Muttines' cavalry roamed about his province, in order to visit the farms and to distinguish between cultivated and uncultivated lands, and to praise or upbraid the owners accordingly. So, owing to this diligence, such a crop of grain was produced that he sent grain to Rome and also transported it to Catina,

<sup>1</sup> A prominent figure in XXIV. and XXV. He fled to Africa in 210 B.C.; XXVI. xl. 11.

<sup>2</sup> A statement for which no explanation has been found, since we do not know of a time when that part of Sicily west of the Syracusan kingdom was so divided. An intrusion in the text? Or did Livy write *Romani* for *Graeci*?

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unde exercitui qui ad Tarentum aestiva acturus esset posset praeberi.

IX. Ceterum transportati milites in Siciliam—et erant<sup>1</sup> maior pars Latini nominis sociorumque—prope magni motus causa fuere; adeo ex parvis saepe magnarum momenta rerum pendent. Fremitus enim inter Latinos sociosque in conciliis ortus, decimum annum dilectibus, stipendiis se<sup>2</sup> exhaustos esse; quotannis ferme clade magna pugnare; alios in acie occidi, alios morbo absumi; magis perire sibi civem qui ab Romano miles lectus sit quam qui ab Poeno captus: quippe ab hoste gratis remitti in patriam, ab Romanis extra Italiam in exsilium verius quam in militiam ablegari. Octavum iam ibi annum senescere Cannensem militem, moriturum ante quam Italia hostis, quippe nunc cum maxime florebat viribus, excedat. Si veteres milites non redeant in patriam, novi legantur, brevi neminem superfuturum. Itaque, quod propediem res ipsa negatura sit, priusquam ad ultimam solitudinem atque egestatem perveniant,<sup>3</sup> negandum populo Romano esse. Si consentientes in hoc socios videant Romani, profecto de pace cum Carthaginiensibus iungenda cogitaturos; aliter numquam vivo Hannibale sine bello Italiam fore. Haec acta in conciliis.

<sup>1</sup> erant PCR: erat the rest.

<sup>2</sup> se Rupertii: s P: om. P<sup>2</sup>(1)JK Aldus.

<sup>3</sup> perveniant PCJK Aldus, Froben: -iat RBDA: -iatur N.

whence it could be supplied to the army which was to have its summer camp near Tarentum. B.C. 209

IX. But the transfer of soldiers to Sicily—and the most of them were of Latin status or allies—was the cause of an outbreak which might have been serious; so true is it that on small things often depends the course of great events. For complaints began to be heard among Latins and allies in their gatherings: <sup>1</sup> that for now the tenth year they had been exhausted by levies of troops and their pay; that almost every year they fought in a disastrous defeat. Some, they said, were slain in battle, others carried off by disease. The townsman who was enlisted by the Roman was lost to them more completely than a man taken captive by the Carthaginian. For with no demand for a ransom the enemy sent him back to his native town; the Romans transported him out of Italy, really into exile rather than into military service. For the eighth year now the soldiers from Cannae were growing old there, certain to die before the enemy, who at the very moment was in the flower of his strength, departed out of Italy. If the old soldiers should not return to their native places, and fresh soldiers continued to be levied, soon no one would be left. Accordingly, what the situation itself would soon refuse must be refused the Roman people without waiting to reach the extreme of desolation and poverty. If the Romans should see the allies unanimous to this effect, surely they would think of making peace with the Carthaginians. Otherwise never, so long as Hannibal lived, would Italy be rid of war. Such were the matters debated in their meetings.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. local meetings.

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- 7 Triginta tum coloniae populi Romani erant; ex  
iis duodecim, cum omnium legationes Romae essent,  
negaverunt consulibus esse unde milites pecuniam-  
que darent. Eae fuere Ardea, Nepete, Sutrium,  
Alba, Carsioli, Sora,<sup>1</sup> Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales,  
8 Narnia, Interamna. Nova re consules icti cum  
absterrere eos a tam detestabili consilio vellent,  
castigando increpandoque plus quam leniter agendo  
9 profecturos rati, eos ausos esse consulibus dicere  
aiebant quod consules ut in senatu pronuntiarent  
in animum inducere non possent; non enim detrecta-  
tionem eam munerum militiae, sed apertam defec-  
10 tionem a populo Romano esse. Redirent itaque  
propere in colonias et tamquam integra re, locuti  
magis quam ausi tantum nefas, cum suis consulerent.  
Admonerent non Campanos neque Tarentinos esse  
11 eos sed Romanos, inde oriundos, inde in colonias  
atque in agrum bello captum stirpis<sup>2</sup> augendae  
causa missos. Quae liberi parentibus deberent, ea  
illos Romanis debere, si ulla pietas, si memoria  
12 antiquae patriae esset. Consulerent igitur de inte-  
gro; nam tum quidem quae temere agitassent, ea  
prodendi imperii Romani, tradendae Hannibali  
13 victoriae esse. Cum alternis haec consules diu  
iactassent, nihil moti legati neque se quod<sup>3</sup> domum

<sup>1</sup> Sora *M<sup>5</sup> Froben* 1: co *P(3)N*: om. *CA<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus*; cf. XXIX. xv. 5, where *P(1)N* omit this name.

<sup>2</sup> stirpis *A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus*: urbis *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> quod *P(3)C<sup>2</sup>A<sup>1</sup>NJK Aldus*: quid *Conway*.

<sup>1</sup> Latin colonies sent out by Rome. Their inhabitants did not have the full Roman citizenship but only the Latin. There were at this time but ten colonies of Roman citizens, e.g. Ostia, Minturnae, Sena Gallica and other seaports.

There were at that time thirty colonies of the Roman state.<sup>1</sup> Of these, while delegations from them all were at Rome, twelve informed the consuls that they had no means of furnishing soldiers and money. These were Ardea, Nepete, Sutrium, Alba, Carsioli, Sora, Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, Narnia, Interamna.<sup>2</sup> The consuls, deeply impressed by what was unheard-of, wishing to deter them from so abominable a move, and thinking they should accomplish more by upbraiding and rebuking them than by soft words, told them that they had dared to say to the consuls what the consuls could not bring themselves to utter in the senate. For it was not a refusal of burdens and of military service, but an open revolt from the Roman people. Accordingly they should return to their colonies promptly, and, as though nothing had been settled, since they had spoken of so great a crime but had not yet ventured to commit it, they should deliberate with their people. Let them remind them that they were not Capuans nor Tarentines, but Romans, sprung from Rome and sent thence into colonies and on land captured in war, to increase their race. All that children owed to their parents they owed, it was said, to the Romans, if there was any filial affection, any memory of their former city. Let them therefore deliberate again; for their present reckless proposal tended to betray the Roman empire, to give over the victory to Hannibal. The consuls by turns kept on for a long time in this strain; but the deputies, still unmoved, said

<sup>2</sup> In a somewhat different order these twelve reappear in XXIX. xv. 5, where Sora is better attested than in our passage. They were established at various dates between 442 and 298 B.C. Cf. Salmon, *J.R.S.* XXVI. 55 ff.

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renuntiarent habere dixerunt neque senatum suum quod<sup>1</sup> novi consuleret, ubi nec miles qui legeretur, nec pecunia quae daretur in stipendium esset.

- 14 Cum obstinatos eos viderent consules, rem ad senatum detulerunt, ubi tantus pavor animis hominum est iniectus ut magna pars actum de imperio diceret:<sup>2</sup> idem alias colonias facturas,<sup>3</sup> idem socios; consensisse omnes ad prodendam Hannibali urbem Romanam.

X. Consules hortari et consolari senatum et dicere alias colonias in fide atque officio pristino fore; eas quoque ipsas quae officio decesserint,<sup>4</sup> si legati circa eas colonias mittantur qui castigent, non qui precentur, verecundiam imperii habituras esse.

- 2 Permissum ab senatu iis cum esset, agerent facerentque<sup>5</sup> ut e re publica ducerent, pertemptatis<sup>6</sup> prius aliarum coloniarum animis citaverunt legatos quae siveruntque ab iis ecquid milites ex formula paratos habarent. Pro duodeviginti coloniis M. Sextilius Fregellanus respondit et milites paratos ex formula<sup>7</sup> esse, et, si pluribus opus esset, pluris daturos, et quidquid aliud imperaret velletque populus Romanus enixe facturos: ad id sibi neque opes deesse et<sup>8</sup> animum

<sup>1</sup> quod *Madvig, Emend.*: quid *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben, Madvig, 1872.*

<sup>2</sup> diceret *P(1)N Aldus*: -rent *JK.*

<sup>3</sup> facturas, here ended the long lacuna in the *Spirensis*; cf. p. 232, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> decesserint *SpJK Froben 2*: -sissent *P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>5</sup> facerentque, *P(1)N om.* facerent.

<sup>6</sup> pertemptatis *SpN<sup>o</sup>JK Froben 2*: temptatis *P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>7</sup> paratos ex formula *A<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup> also (om. ex) P(1)N*: ex formula paratos *JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>8</sup> deesse et *Alchefsiki*: -esset or -essent *P(3)*: -esse *CM<sup>o</sup>A<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.*

that they had nothing to report back home, nor did their senates have anything new to decide upon, in towns where there were neither soldiers to be enlisted nor money to be furnished for pay. The consuls, finding them unyielding, brought the matter before the senate; and there such terror was inspired in the minds of the members that a great many of them said the empire was at an end; that the same thing would be done by the other colonies, the same by the allies; that they all had conspired to betray the city of Rome to Hannibal.

X. The consuls exhorted and comforted the senate, and said that the rest of the colonies would be loyal and dutiful as formerly; that even the colonies which had abandoned their duty would have respect for the empire, if legates should be sent about among them to upbraid, not to entreat. Permission having been given the consuls by the senate to act and do as they thought to be for the interest of the state, after first sounding the temper of the other colonies, they summoned their legates, and asked them whether they had any soldiers in readiness according to the compact.<sup>1</sup> On behalf of the eighteen colonies Marcus Sextilius, of Fregellae, replied that they had soldiers in readiness according to the compact, and would give more if more were needed, and would exert themselves to do whatever else the Roman people might command and desire. To that end, he said, they did not lack means and had even a surplus of

<sup>1</sup> To each of the allies and to every colony a *formula* was given, i.e. a formal agreement or covenant in which mutual obligations were stated, including what military assistance was to be furnished; cf. XXII. lvii. 10; XXIX. xv. 12.

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- 5 etiam superesse. Consules parum sibi videri praefati pro merito eorum sua voce conlaudari eos,<sup>1</sup> nisi universi patres iis in curia gratias egissent, sequi in senatum eos<sup>2</sup> iusserunt. Senatus quam poterat honoratissimo decreto adlocutus eos<sup>3</sup> mandat consulibus ut ad populum quoque eos producerent, et inter multa alia praeclara quae ipsis maioribusque suis praestitissent recens etiam meritum eorum in rem publicam commemorarent. Ne nunc quidem post tot saecula sileantur fraudenturque laude sua: Signini fuere et Norbani Saticulanique et Fregellani, et Lucerini et Venusini, et Brundisini et Hadriani et Firmani et Ariminenses, et ab altero mari Pontiani et Paestani et Cosani, et mediterranei Beneventani et Aesernini et Spoletini, et Placentini et Cremonenses. Harum coloniarum subsidio tum imperium populi Romani stetit, iisque gratiae in senatu et apud populum actae. Duodecim aliarum coloniarum quae detractaverunt imperium mentionem fieri patres vetuerunt, neque illos dimitti neque retineri neque appellari a consulibus; ea tacita castigatio maxime ex dignitate populi Romani visa est.
- 11 Cetera expedientibus quae ad bellum opus erant consulibus, aurum vicensimarium, quod in sanctiore

<sup>1</sup> eos, bracketed by Conway.<sup>2</sup> eos P(1)N Aldus, Eds.: om. Sp/JK Froben 2.<sup>3</sup> eos P(1)N Aldus, Froben: om. N\*JK.<sup>1</sup> On the coast of Etruria, but a Roman, not an Etruscan town, which still preserves its imposing polygonal walls.<sup>2</sup> The names show a studied arrangement in pairs or larger groups: Latium and Samnium near the coast, a group of four; Apulia; Adriatic coast; coast and islands of the Tuscan Sea; Samnium and Umbria; Cisalpine Gaul.

spirit. The consuls began by saying that to do the men justice it did not seem enough that they should receive praise from the lips of the consuls only, without having the entire senate first return thanks to them in the Senate House; and then they bade them to follow into the senate. After addressing them in a decree as complimentary as possible, the senate instructed the consuls to bring them before the people also, and along with the many other conspicuous services they had rendered to the senators themselves and their ancestors, to recount their recent service also to the state. Even now, after so many generations, they shall not be passed over in silence or defrauded of their praise. It was the men of Signia and Norba and Saticula and Fregellae, and of Luceria and Venusia, and of Brundisium and Hadria and Firmum and Ariminum, and on the other sea, the men of Pontiae and Paestum and Cosa,<sup>1</sup> and in the interior, the men of Beneventum and Aesernia and Spoletium, and of Placentia and Cremona.<sup>2</sup> With the aid of these colonies at that time the empire of the Roman people stood fast, and thanks were rendered to them in the senate and before the people. Of the other twelve colonies, which refused to obey orders, the senators forbade any mention to be made; their legates should neither be dismissed nor detained nor spoken to by the consuls. That silent rebuke seemed most in keeping with the majesty of the Roman people.

While the consuls were endeavouring to provide everything else needed for the war, it was voted that the gold yielded by the five per cent tax on manumissions, and kept in the more sacred treasury to



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aerario ad ultimos casus servabatur,<sup>1</sup> promi placuit.

- 12 Prompta ad quattuor milia pondo auri. Inde quingena pondo data consulibus et M. Marcello et P. Sulpicio proconsulibus et L. Veturio praetori qui  
13 Galliam provinciam erat sortitus, additumque Fabio consuli centum pondo auri praecipuum quod in arcem Tarentinam portaretur; cetero auro<sup>2</sup> usi sunt ad vestimenta praesenti pecunia locanda exercitui qui in Hispania bellum secunda sua fama ducisque gerebat.

- XI. Prodigia quoque, priusquam ab urbe consules  
2 proficiscerentur, procurari placuit. In Albano monte tacta de caelo erant signum Iovis arborque templo propinqua, et Ostiae<sup>3</sup> lacus,<sup>4</sup> et Capuae murus Fortunaeque aedis, et Sinuessae murus portaque.  
3 Haec de caelo tacta: cruentam etiam fluxisse aquam Albanam quidam auctores erant, et Romae intus in cella aedis<sup>5</sup> Fortis Fortunae de capite signum, quod in corona erat, in manum sponte sua prolapsum; et  
4 Priverni satis constabat bovem locutum, volturiumque frequenti foro in tabernam devolasse, et Sinuessae

<sup>1</sup> servabatur *P(1)N Aldus*: -aretur *SpN<sup>o</sup>JK Froben 2*.

<sup>2</sup> auro *A<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK*: om. *P(1)N Aldus, Froben, Madvig*.

<sup>3</sup> Ostiae (hostiae) *O<sup>1</sup> Aldus*: ostium (or hostium) *P(1)NJK*.

<sup>4</sup> lacus *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: locus *A<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK*: locus *Crévier*.

<sup>5</sup> aedis *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: om. *A<sup>o</sup>JK Luchs*.

<sup>1</sup> In the *aerarium sanctius* was kept a reserve of gold bars (at this period), stored separately from other funds and to be drawn upon only in some great emergency. This is the first instance of its use. The five per cent tax imposed upon the master who manumitted slaves was the chief source of supply.

<sup>2</sup> The quaestors would have the duty of letting the contracts, in this case for cash, with no resort to credit and a moratorium, as in XXIII. xlvii. 11.

meet extreme emergencies, should be brought out.<sup>1</sup> A.C. 209  
About four thousand pounds of gold were brought out. Of this five hundred pounds each were given to the consuls and to Marcus Marcellus and Publius Sulpicius, the proconsuls, and to Lucius Veturius, the praetor who had by lot received Gaul as his province. And for Fabius, the consul, there were added a hundred pounds of gold above the rest, to be conveyed to the citadel of Tarentum. The remainder of the gold they employed in letting contracts<sup>2</sup> in terms of ready money for clothing for the army which was carrying on the war in Spain, with distinction to itself and to its commander.

XI. It was further voted that for prodigies the atonement be made before the consuls should set out from the city. On the Alban Mount a statue of Jupiter and a tree near the temple had been struck by lightning; and at Ostia a basin,<sup>3</sup> and at Capua the city wall and the temple of Fortune, and at Sinuessa the wall and a gate. These were struck by lightning. Also some persons testified that the current of the outlet<sup>4</sup> of the Alban Lake was blood-red, and that at Rome inside the cella of the Temple of Fors Fortuna<sup>5</sup> a small image on a garland fell of itself from the head of the statue into the hand. And at Privernum it was established that an ox spoke, and that in the crowded market-place a vulture flew down upon a shop, and that at Sinuessa

<sup>1</sup> Probably of a public fountain, such as may be seen at street corners in Pompeii; cf. XXXIX. xlv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The famous *emissarium*, made in accordance with a response of the Delphic oracle in 396 B.C.; V. xvi. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Outside the city and by the Tiber, probably that at the first milestone of the road later known as Via Portuensis.

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natum ambiguo inter marem ac feminam sexu infantem, quos androgynos volgus, ut pleraque, 5 faciliore ad duplicanda verba Graeco sermone, appellat, et lacte pluvisse, et cum elephanti capite 6 puerum natum. Ea prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata, et supplicatio circa omnia pulvinaria, obsecratio<sup>1</sup> in unum diem indicta; et decretum ut C. Hostilius praetor ludos Apollini, sicut iis annis voti factique erant, voveret faceretque.

7 Per eos dies et censoribus creandis Q. Fulvius consul comitia habuit. Creati censores, ambo qui nondum consules fuerant, M. Cornelius Cethegus, 8 P. Sempronius Tuditanus. Ii<sup>2</sup> censores ut agrum Campanum fruendum locarent ex auctoritate patrum latum ad plebem est plebesque scivit.

9 Senatus lectionem contentio inter censores de 10 principe legendo tenuit. Semproni lectio erat; ceterum Cornelius morem traditum a patribus sequendum aiebat, ut qui primus censor ex iis qui viverent fuisset, eum principem legerent; is T. 11 Manlius Torquatus erat; Sempronius, cui di sortem legendi dedissent, ei<sup>3</sup> ius liberum eosdem dedisse deos; se id suo arbitrio facturum lecturumque Q. Fabium Maximum, quem tum principem Romanae civitatis esse vel Hannibale iudice victurus esset.

<sup>1</sup> obsecratio *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: et obsecratio *C<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK*.

<sup>2</sup> Ii *Drakenborch*: duo *Sp<sup>2</sup>A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Froben* 2: in *P*: om. *P<sup>2</sup>(1)N Aldus, Madvig*.

<sup>3</sup> ei *Sp<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>K Froben* 2: et *P(1)N Aldus*: eis *J*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. iv. 15 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXV. xii. 11 ff.; XXVI. xxiii. 3; and below, xxiii. 5 f.

<sup>3</sup> For the censors chosen in the previous year and the reason for this election cf. vi. 17 f.

a child was born of uncertain sex, as between male B.C. 209 and female—the populace call them hermaphrodites, as it uses many similar terms, since the Greek language is more apt in compounding words—; also that it rained milk there, and that a child was born with the head of an elephant. These prodigies were atoned for with full-grown victims, and prayers were ordered at all the *pulvinaria*,<sup>1</sup> and entreaties for one day. And it was decreed that Gaius Hostilius, the praetor, should vow and conduct games in honour of Apollo, as they had been vowed and conducted in those years.<sup>2</sup>

About that time Quintus Fulvius, the consul, also held an election for the naming of censors.<sup>3</sup> Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, both of whom had not yet been consuls, were named censors. That these censors should lease lands in the Campanian region was proposed to the commons on the authority of the senate, and the commons so ordered.

The revision of the list of the senate was delayed by a dispute between the censors in regard to the choice of a *princeps senatus*. The choice belonged to Sempronius; but Cornelius said that they must follow the traditional custom of the senate, namely, to choose as *princeps* the man who, among the living, had been censor first. That was Titus Manlius Torquatus. Sempronius claimed that if the gods had given a man the choice by lot, they also gave him an unrestricted right; he would make the choice according to his own judgment, and would choose Quintus Fabius Maximus, whom he could prove, even with Hannibal as judge, to be at that time the first citizen of the Roman state. After the war of words had

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- 12 Cum diu certatum verbis esset, concedente conlega lectus a Sempronio princeps in senatum<sup>1</sup> Q. Fabius Maximus consul. Inde alius lectus senatus octo praeteritis, inter quos M. Caecilius Metellus erat, infamis auctor deserendae Italiae post Cannensem  
13 cladem. In equestribus quoque notis eadem servata causa, sed erant perpauci quos ea infamia attingeret.  
14 Illis omnibus—et multi erant—adempti equi qui Cannensium legionum equites in Sicilia erant. Addiderunt acerbitati etiam tempus, ne praeterita stipendia procederent iis quae<sup>2</sup> equo publico meruerant, sed dena stipendia equis privatis facerent.  
15 Magnum praeterea numerum eorum conquisiverunt qui equo merere deberent; atque ex iis qui principio eius belli septemdecim annos nati fuerant neque  
16 militaverant omnes aerarios fecerunt. Locaverunt inde reficienda quae circa forum incendio consumpta erant septem tabernas, macellum, atrium regium.

XII. Transactis omnibus quae Romae agenda  
2 erant consules ad bellum profecti. Prior Fulvius praegressus Capuam; post paucos dies consecutus Fabius, qui et conlegam coram obtestatus et per litteras Marcellum ut quam acerrimo bello detinerent<sup>3</sup>  
3 Hannibalem, dum ipse Tarentum oppugnaret—ea urbe adempta hosti iam undique pulso, nec ubi

<sup>1</sup> senatum Riemann (from an inscr. in honour of Fabius, C.I.L. I. i. p. 288): senatu P(1)NJK Eds.

<sup>2</sup> quae P(3): q; BDN: qui A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>3</sup> detinerent JK: -eret P(1)N Aldus, Froben.

<sup>1</sup> XXII. liii. 5; XXIV. xliii. 2 f. and note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXIV. xviii. 6 and note.

<sup>3</sup> See XXVI. xxvii. 2 f. and notes. Of the shops there mentioned as destroyed the so-called *novae* (north side of the Forum) were apparently not rebuilt until 194 B.C.; XXXV. xxiii f.

lasted long, his colleague was giving way, and Sempronius chose Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul, as *princeps senatus*. Then the rest of the list of the senate was made up, with eight men ignored, among whom was Marcus Caecilius Metellus, notorious as having advised the desertion of Italy after the disaster at Cannae.<sup>1</sup> In attaching their *nota* to knights also the same principle was maintained, but very few were the men to whom that notoriety applied. From all of those who, as horsemen belonging to the legions from Cannae, were in Sicily—and there were many of them—their horses were taken away. To this severity the censors added also prolonged service—that the years previously served with horses furnished by the state should not be reckoned, but that they must serve ten years, furnishing their own mounts. Furthermore they sought out a great number of the men who were bound to serve in the cavalry, and reduced to the grade of *aerarii*<sup>2</sup> all those who at the beginning of the war had been seventeen years old and had not served. They then contracted for the rebuilding of what had been destroyed by fire around the Forum, namely, seven shops, the market, the Atrium Regium.<sup>3</sup>

XII. Having completed everything that was to be done at Rome, the consuls set out for the war. Fulvius went first and led the way to Capua. After a few days he was overtaken by Fabius, who implored his colleague in person and Marcellus also by letter to keep Hannibal occupied by the most spirited fighting possible while he himself was besieging Tarentum. With that city taken from him, he said, the enemy, beaten back on every side, and having no

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consisteret nec quod<sup>1</sup> fidum respiceret habenti, ne  
 4 remorandi<sup>2</sup> quidem causam in Italia fore—, Regium  
 etiam nuntium mittit ad praefectum praesidii quod  
 ab Laevino consule adversus Bruttios ibi locatum  
 5 erat, octo milia hominum, pars maxima ab Agathyrna,  
 sicut ante dictum est, ex Sicilia traducta, raptò  
 vivere hominum adsuutorum; additi erant Bruttiorum  
 indidem perfugae, et audacia et audendi omnia  
 6 necessitatibus pares. Hanc manum ad Bruttium  
 primum agrum depopulandum duci iussit, inde ad  
 Cauloniam urbem oppugnandam. Imperata non  
 inpigre solum sed etiam avide exsecuti direptis  
 fugatisque cultoribus agri summa vi urbem oppugna-  
 bant.  
 7 Marcellus et consulis litteris excitus et quia ita<sup>3</sup>  
 induxerat in animum neminem ducem Romanum  
 tam parem Hannibali quam se esse, ubi primum in  
 agris pabuli copia fuit, ex hibernis profectus ad  
 8 Canusium Hannibali occurrit. Sollicitabat ad de-  
 fectionem Canusinos Poenus; ceterum ut adpro-  
 pinquare Marcellum audivit, castra inde movit.  
 Aperta erat regio sine ullis ad insidias latebris;  
 9 itaque in loca saltuosa cedere inde coepit. Marcellus  
 vestigiis instabat castraque castris conferebat, et  
 opere perfecto extemplo in aciem legiones educebat.  
 Hannibal turmatim per equites peditumque iacula-  
 tores levia certamina serens casum universae pugnae

<sup>1</sup> quod *Wesenberg*: quid *P(1)N Madvig, Conway* (cf. ix. 13).

<sup>2</sup> remorandi *P(1)N<sup>1</sup> Aldus*: remoranti *N*: morandi  
*SpJK Froben 2*.

<sup>3</sup> ita *Sp<sup>1</sup> Froben 2*: om. *P(1) NJK Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXVI. xl. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On the coast 23 miles northeast of Locri.

place where he might make a stand nor any loyal support to look to, would also find no reason for lingering in Italy. He sent a messenger to Regium also, to the commander of the garrison which had been posted there against the Bruttii by Laevinus, the consul, eight thousand men, for the most part from Agathyrna, as has been said above, who had been brought over from Sicily, being men accustomed to live by plundering.<sup>1</sup> To their number had been added from the same region Bruttian deserters, a match for them in daring and in the urgent needs that compelled them to take any risk. This force Fabius ordered to be led out first for the purpose of ravaging the country of the Bruttians, and then of besieging the city of Caulonia.<sup>2</sup> After carrying out their orders not only with energy but also with zest, robbing and putting to flight the tillers of the soil, they proceeded to assail the city with great violence.

Marcellus, spurred by the consul's letter, and also because he had come to believe that no Roman general was so good a match for Hannibal as himself, set out from winter quarters as soon as there was abundance of pasture in the fields, and encountered Hannibal near Canusium. The Carthaginian was tempting the men of Canusium to revolt; but on hearing of the approach of Marcellus, he moved his camp away. It was an open country, with no concealment for ambuscades; accordingly he began to retire from it into wooded regions. Marcellus kept at his heels and would place camp close to camp, and after completing his fortifications, he would at once lead his legions out into battle-line. Hannibal by his cavalry in single troops and by spearmen on foot kept bringing on slight engagements, but

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- 10 non necessarium ducebat. Tractus est tamen ad id quod vitabat certamen. Nocte praegressum adsequitur locis planis ac patentibus Marcellus; castra inde ponentem pugnando undique in munitores operibus prohibet. Ita signa conlata pugnatumque totis copiis et, cum iam nox instaret, Marte aequo discessum est. Castra exiguo distantia spatio raptim  
 11 ante noctem permunita. Postero die luce prima Marcellus in aciem copias eduxit; nec Hannibal detraxit certamen, multis verbis adhortatus milites ut memores Trasumenni Cannarumque con-  
 12 tunderent ferociam hostis: urgere atque instare eum, non iter quietos facere,<sup>1</sup> non castra ponere pati, non respirare aut circumspicere; cotidie simul orientem solem et Romanam aciem in campis videndam esse; si uno proelio haud incruentus abeat, quietius deinde  
 13 tranquilliusque eum bellaturum. His inritati adhortationibus simulque taedio ferociae hostium cotidie instantium lacessentiumque acriter proelium ineunt.  
 14 Pugnatum amplius duabus horis est. Cedere inde ab Romanis dextra ala et extraordinarii coepere. Quod ubi Marcellus vidit, duodevicensimam legionem  
 15 in primam aciem inducit. Dum alii trepidi<sup>2</sup> cedunt, alii segniter subeunt, turbata tota acies est, dein

<sup>1</sup> non iter quietos facere *Sp Froben 2: om. P(1)N Aldus, one line.*

<sup>2</sup> trepidi *P(1)N Aldus: trepide SpJK Froben 2.*

<sup>1</sup> Of the allies, while the *ala* filled the rest of the front line; cf. note on i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Marcellus had still another legion and another *ala* as a reserve probably.

thought the risk of a general conflict unnecessary. B.C. 209 Nevertheless he was drawn into the conflict which he was trying to avoid. When the enemy had gone ahead by night, Marcellus overtook him in level and open country. Then as Hannibal was pitching camp, the Roman by fighting on all sides against the men engaged in fortifying prevented them from doing so. Thus standards faced standards and it was a battle with all their forces, and when night was now at hand, they separated on even terms. The camps, separated by a very short distance, were hastily fortified before night. The next day Marcellus led out his forces into line at daybreak. And Hannibal did not refuse battle, after he had exhorted his soldiers at length, that, remembering Trasumennus and Cannae, they should crush the over-confidence of the enemy, who was pressing them, Hannibal said, and threatening them, not allowing them to march undisturbed, nor to pitch their camp, nor to take breath and look around them; every day they must at the same moment see the sun rising and the Roman battle-line in the plain; if he should come out of a single battle not without some losses, the enemy would thereafter carry on the war more calmly and quietly. Inflamed by these exhortations and also weary of the high spirit of a foe who daily pressed upon them and challenged them, they went into battle fiercely. They fought for more than two hours. Then on the side of the Romans the right *ala* and the élite troops<sup>1</sup> began to give way. Seeing this Marcellus led up the eighteenth legion into the front rank.<sup>2</sup> While the one part in disorder was yielding ground, and the other was slow in coming up, the whole line was confused, then thoroughly routed, and as fear over-

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prorsus fusa, et vincente pudorem metu terga  
16 dabant. Cecidere in pugna fugaque<sup>1</sup> ad duo milia  
et septingenti civium sociorumque; in iis<sup>2</sup> quattuor  
Romani centuriones, duo tribuni militum, M. Licinius  
17 et M. Helvius. Signa militaria quattuor de ala  
prima quae fugit, duo de legione quae cedentibus  
sociis successerat amissa.

XIII. Marcellus, postquam in castra reditum est,  
contionem adeo saevam atque acerbam apud milites  
habuit ut proelio per diem totum infelicitur tolerato  
2 tristior iis irati ducis oratio esset. "Dis immortalibus,  
ut in tali re, laudes gratesque," inquit "ago  
quod victor hostis cum tanto pavore incidentibus vobis  
in vallum portasque non ipsa castra est adgressus;  
deseruissetis profecto eodem terrore castra quo  
3 omisistis pugnam. Qui pavor hic, qui terror, quae  
repente qui et cum quibus pugnaretis oblivio animos  
cepit? Nempe idem sunt hi hostes quos vincendo  
et victos sequendo priorem aestatem<sup>3</sup> absumpsistis,  
4 quibus dies noctesque fugientibus per hos dies  
institistis, quos levibus proeliis fatigastis,<sup>4</sup> quos  
hesterno die nec iter facere nec castra ponere passi  
5 estis. Omitto ea quibus gloriari potestis; cuius et  
ipsius pudere ac paenitere vos oportet referam<sup>5</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> fugaque A<sup>1</sup>JK: que P(3): om. AN Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> in iis PCR<sup>1</sup>: in his MBDAN Aldus, Froben: inter quos fuere A<sup>1</sup>JK.

<sup>3</sup> priorem aestatem TaSp<sup>1</sup> Froben 2 (with in J and K): priore aestate P(1)N.

<sup>4</sup> fatigastis P<sup>2</sup>(3)Ta<sup>1</sup>: fatigatis PTa: fugastis ANJK Aldus, Froben.

powered the sense of shame, they fled. In battle B.C. 209  
and flight some two thousand seven hundred citizens  
and allies fell, among them four Roman centurions,  
two tribunes of the soldiers, Marcus Licinius and  
Marcus Helvius. Four military standards were lost  
from the *ala* which was the first to flee, and two  
from the legion which had relieved the allies as they  
gave way.

XIII. Marcellus, after they had returned to camp,  
made a speech to the soldiers which was so savage  
and bitter that, although they had borne the battle  
all day long without success, the angry general's  
speech was more ferocious to them. "The immortal  
gods," he said, "have my praises and thanks, so far  
as one can be grateful now, because the victorious  
enemy, when you were throwing yourselves in such  
fright upon the earthwork and the gates, did not  
attack the camp itself. You would surely have  
deserted the camp in terror, just as in terror  
you abandoned the battle. What fright is this, what  
terror, that have taken possession of your minds, what  
sudden forgetting who you are and in battle with  
whom? Of course these are the same enemies in  
defeating whom, and in pursuing them when  
defeated, you have spent last summer, the same men  
whom you have pressed hard in these days, as they  
were fleeing day and night, whom you have wearied  
by slight engagements, whom yesterday you did not  
allow either to march or to pitch camp. I pass over  
the things of which you can boast. I shall mention  
something for which you ought also to feel shame

<sup>5</sup> referam P(1)NTa Aldus: om. SpN<sup>2</sup>JK Froben 2.

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nempe aequis manibus hesterno die diremistis  
 6 pugnam. Quid haec nox, quid hic dies attulit?  
 Vestrae iis copiae inminutae sunt an illorum auctae?  
 Non equidem mihi cum exercitu meo loqui videor  
 nec cum Romanis militibus: corpora tantum atque  
 7 arma sunt eadem. An, si eosdem animos habuissetis,  
 terga vestra vidisset hostis? signa alicui manipulo  
 aut cohorti ademisset?<sup>1</sup> Adhuc caesis legionibus  
 Romanis gloriabatur: vos illi hodierno die primum  
 8 fugati exercitus dedistis decus." Clamor inde ortus  
 ut veniam eius diei daret; ubi vellet deinde experi-  
 retur militum suorum animos. "Ego vero experiar,"  
 inquit "milites, et vos crastino die in aciem educam,  
 ut victores potius quam victi veniam impetretis quam  
 9 petitis." Cohortibus quae signa amiserant hordeum  
 dari iussit, centurionesque manipulorum quorum  
 signa amissa fuerant dstrictis gladiis discinctos  
 destituit; et ut postero die omnes, pedites equites,<sup>2</sup>  
 10 armati adessent edixit. Ita contio dimissa fatentium  
 iure ac merito sese increpitos, neque illo die virum  
 quemquam in acie Romana fuisse praeter unum  
 ducem, cui aut morte satisfaciendum aut egregia  
 victoria esset.

11 Postero die armati ornatique<sup>3</sup> ad edictum aderant.

<sup>1</sup> ademisset *TaJK*: abstulisset *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>2</sup> pedites equites *Ta, Aldus and Froben add* -que: equites  
 pedites *P(1), NJK add* -que.

<sup>3</sup> armati ornatique *TaSpK Froben 2*: ornati armatique  
*P(1)NJ*; ornati *Conway (deleting armatique)*.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the drawn battle of yesterday is something of which  
 you should be ashamed, as well as of your rout to-day, though  
 not to the same degree.

<sup>2</sup> Cohorts of allies had their *signa*; XXV. xiv. 4. In the  
 legions it was the manipule, not the cohort, which had a  
 standard until Marius' time.

and regret; namely, you broke off the battle A.C. 209  
 yesterday while it was undecided.<sup>1</sup> What has this  
 night, what has this day brought? Have your  
 troops been reduced, or their forces increased in that  
 time? For my part I do not seem to be speaking  
 with my army nor with Roman soldiers. It is merely  
 your bodies and weapons that are the same. Can  
 it be that, if you had had the same spirit, the enemy  
 would have seen your backs? And would he have  
 taken standards from any manipule or cohort?<sup>2</sup> Till  
 now his boasting was in the slaughter of Roman  
 legions: you have this day given him for the first  
 time the distinction of putting an army to flight."  
 Then they began to shout that he should pardon  
 them for that day, and afterwards, whenever he  
 wished, he should test the spirit of his soldiers. "I  
 will indeed test them, soldiers," said he, "and  
 to-morrow I will lead you out into battle-line, that as  
 victors, rather than as vanquished, you may gain the  
 pardon for which you ask." To the cohorts which  
 had lost their standards he ordered barley to be  
 issued, and as for the centurions of the maniples  
 whose standards had been lost, he made them stand  
 aside with drawn swords and no belts; and he  
 ordered that on the morrow they should all, infantry  
 and cavalry, present themselves under arms. So the  
 assembly was dismissed, as the men confessed that  
 they had been upbraided with good reason and  
 deservedly, and that on that day in the Roman line  
 no one had been a man except the general alone,  
 whom they must satisfy either by dying or by a  
 glorious victory.

The next day they presented themselves accord-  
 ing to orders armed and equipped. The general



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Imperator eos conlaudat pronuntiatque a quibus orta pridie fuga esset cohortesque quae signa amisissent se in primam aciem inducturum; edicere iam sese omnibus pugnandum ac vincendum esse et adnitendum singulis universisque ne prius hesternae fugae quam hodiernae victoriae fama Romam perveniat. Inde cibo corpora firmare iussi, ut, si longior pugna esset, viribus sufficerent. Ubi omnia dicta factaque sunt quibus excitarentur animi militum in aciem procedunt. XIV. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, "Cum eo nimirum," inquit "hoste res est qui nec bonam nec malam ferre fortunam possit. Seu vicit, ferociter instat victis: seu victus<sup>1</sup> est, 2 instaurat cum victoribus certamen." Signa inde canere iussit et<sup>2</sup> copias educit. Pugnatum utrimque aliquanto quam pridie acrius est, Poenis ad obtinendum hesternum decus adnitentibus, Romanis ad 3 demendam ignominiam. Sinistra ala ab Romanis et cohortes quae amiserant signa in prima acie pugnabant, et legio duodevicensima<sup>3</sup> ab dextro 4 cornu instructa. L. Cornelius Lentulus et C. Claudius Nero legati cornibus praeerant; Marcellus mediam aciem hortator testisque praesens firmabat. 5 Ab Hannibale Hispani primam obtinebant frontem, 6 et id roboris in omni exercitu erat. Cum anceps diu pugna esset, Hannibal elephantos in primam aciem induci iussit, si quem inicere ea res tumultum ac

<sup>1</sup> seu victus *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1): P<sup>2</sup> changes victis (above) to victus (1).*

<sup>2</sup> et *Sp<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Froben 2: om. P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>3</sup> duodevice(n)sima *Perizonius: vice(n)sima P(1)NJK; cf. xii. 14.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the words put into Scipio's mouth in XXVI. xli. 12 *fn.* and into Hannibal's by Horace in *Carm. IV. iv. 53-68.*

praised them warmly and declared that he would lead out into the first line the men with whom the flight had begun the day before, and the cohorts which had lost their standards; that now he proclaimed that they must all fight and win, and strive singly and collectively to prevent news of yesterday's flight from reaching Rome before that of to-day's victory. They were then bidden to strengthen themselves by eating, so that, if the battle should be prolonged, they might have sufficient endurance. When everything had been said and done that could arouse the soldiers' spirits, they advanced into line. XIV. When this was reported to Hannibal, "Of a truth," he said, "we have to deal with an enemy who can bear neither good fortune nor bad. If he has won, he furiously presses the defeated; if on the other hand he has been defeated, he renews the conflict with the victors."<sup>1</sup> Then he ordered the trumpets to sound and led out his forces. On both sides the battle was much fiercer than the day before, the Carthaginians striving to maintain the distinction of yesterday, while the Romans strove to rid themselves of their disgrace. The left *ala* on the Roman side and the cohorts which had lost their standards were fighting in the first line, and the eighteenth legion was drawn up on the right wing. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius Nero, the lieutenants, commanded the wings. Marcellus in person upheld the centre, to exhort them and as a witness. On Hannibal's side Spanish troops held the front line. And they were the best troops in the entire army. When the battle had long been indecisive Hannibal ordered the elephants to be driven up to the front, in the hope that that move might

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- 7 pavorem posset. Et primo turbarunt signa ordinesque,  
et partim occulcatis partim dissipatis terrore qui  
8 circa erant nudaverant una parte aciem, latiusque  
fuga manasset, ni C. Decimius Flavus tribunus mili-  
tum signo arrepto primi hastati manipulum eius signi  
sequi se iussisset. Duxit ubi maxime tumultum con-  
globatae beluae faciebant pilaque in eas conici iussit.  
9 Haesere omnia tela haud difficili ex propinquo in  
tanta corpora ictu et tum<sup>1</sup> conferta turba; sed ut  
non omnes vulnerati sunt, ita in quorum tergis infixae  
steterae pila, ut est genus anceps, in fugam versi  
10 etiam integros avertere. Tum iam non unus mani-  
pulus, sed pro se quisque miles, qui modo adsequi  
agmen fugientium elephantorum poterat, pila conici-  
cere. Eo magis ruere in suos beluae tantoque  
maiores stragem edere quam inter hostes ediderant,  
quanto acrius pavor consternatam<sup>2</sup> agit quam  
11 insidentis magistri imperio regitur.<sup>3</sup> In perturbatam  
transcursu beluarum aciem signa inferunt Romani  
pedites et haud magno certamine dissipatos trepi-  
12 dantesque avertunt. Tum in fugientes equitatum  
inmittit Marcellus, nec ante finis sequendi est factus  
13 quam in castra paventes compulsi sunt. Nam  
super alia quae terrorem trepidationemque facerent,<sup>4</sup>  
elephantum quoque<sup>5</sup> duo in ipsa porta corruerant,

<sup>1</sup> tum P(3): eum Sp: tam BDANJK Aldus, Froben.<sup>2</sup> consternatam P(3)SpN<sup>o</sup> Froben 2: -tas A<sup>o</sup>J Aldus.<sup>3</sup> regitur P(1)NSp Froben 2: reguntur A<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus.<sup>4</sup> facerent P(1) Aldus, Froben: fecerant A<sup>o</sup>JK.<sup>5</sup> quoque Gronovius (from a Ms.): que P(1)N: forte A<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXVI. v. 15.

bring about confusion and panic. And at first they A.C. 209  
did cause disorder among the standards and ranks, and  
by trampling down some of those who were near, and  
scattering others in alarm, they had stripped the line  
of battle at one point, and the flight would have  
spread further, had not Gaius Decimius Flavus, a  
tribune of the soldiers, seized a standard from the  
first manipule of the *hastati*<sup>1</sup> and ordered the manipule  
to which it belonged to follow him. He led them  
to the spot where the brutes massed together were  
causing confusion and bade them hurl their javelins  
against them. All the weapons stuck fast, for it  
was not difficult to hit bodies of such size from a  
short distance and now packed in a dense mass.  
But although not all were wounded, still those in  
whose backs the javelins remained well fixed—so un-  
dependable is the species—took to flight and even  
made the uninjured wheel about. Then no longer  
did a single manipule hurl its javelins, but every soldier  
for himself, provided he was able to catch up with the  
column of the fleeing elephants. All the more did  
the brutes dash among their own men and cause a  
greater slaughter than they had done among the  
enemy, in proportion as the frightened beast is  
urged on more fiercely by terror than when under the  
control of a driver on its back. Into the line thrown  
into confusion by the brutes dashing through it the  
Roman infantry carried their standards and with no  
great struggle they made the scattered and wavering  
enemy retreat. Then, as they fled, Marcellus sent  
his cavalry against them, and pursuit did not end  
until in alarm they were driven into their camp. For  
in addition to the other causes of terror and con-  
sternation, two elephants had fallen in the very gate,

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- coactique erant milites per fossam vallumque ruere in castra. Ibi maxima hostium caedes facta; caesa  
 14 ad octo milia hominum, quinque elephanti. Nec Romanis incruenta victoria fuit: mille ferme et septingenti de duabus legionibus et sociorum supra mille et trecentos occisi; vulnerati permulti civium  
 15 sociorumque. Hannibal nocte proxima castra movit: cupientem insequi Marcellum prohibuit multitudo sauciorum. XV. Speculatores qui prosequerentur<sup>1</sup> agmen missi postero die rettulerunt Bruttios Hannibalem petere.
- 2 Isdem ferme diebus et ad Q. Fulvium consulem Hirpini et Lucani et Volceientes traditis praesidiis Hannibalis quae in urbibus habebant dederunt sese, clementerque a consule cum verborum tantum castigatione ob errorem praeteritum accepti sunt;<sup>2</sup>  
 3 et Bruttiiis similis spes veniae facta est, cum ab iis Vibius et Paccius fratres, longe nobilissimi gentis eius, eandem quae data Lucanis erat condicionem deditionis petentes venissent.
- 4 Q. Fabius consul oppidum in Sallentinis Manduriam vi cepit; ibi ad tria milia<sup>3</sup> hominum capta et ceterae praedae aliquantum. Inde Tarentum profectus in

<sup>1</sup> prosequerentur *P(1)NJK Aldus: sequerentur Sp Froben 2; per- x.*

<sup>2</sup> accepti sunt *BDAN: accepti Sp?JK Froben 2: acceptis P(3).*

<sup>3</sup> tria milia ( $\infty \infty \infty$ ) *PC Madvig: quattuor milia A?N?JK Conway: om. RMB DAN.*

<sup>1</sup> According to Plutarch he went to Campania; *Marcellus xxvi. 4.*

and the soldiers were forced to dash into the camp B.C. 209  
 over fosse and earthwork. It was there that the greatest slaughter of the enemy occurred, that is to say, about eight thousand men and five elephants. And for the Romans also it was not a bloodless victory. About one thousand seven hundred from the two legions, and of the allies more than one thousand three hundred, were killed; wounded were a large number of citizens and allies. Hannibal moved his camp that night; Marcellus was eager to pursue, but the numbers of the wounded prevented him. XV. Scouts sent to pursue the column reported next day that Hannibal was on his way to the land of the Bruttii.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time the Hirpini and Lucanians and the men of Volceii<sup>2</sup> surrendered to Quintus Fulvius, the consul, handing over Hannibal's garrisons which they had in their cities, and were kindly received by him with nothing more than an oral reprimand for their previous mistake. The Bruttii<sup>3</sup> also were given to expect a like pardon, upon the arrival from that region of the brothers Vibius and Paccius, easily the noblest of that tribe, to ask for the same terms of surrender as had been given to the Lucanians.

Quintus Fabius, the consul, took the town of Manduria,<sup>4</sup> in the land of the Sallentini, by storm. There about three thousand persons were captured, and other booty in quantity. Then removing to

<sup>2</sup> An unimportant city in northern Lucania is unaccountably added, as if its citizens were not Lucanians. Some of their people still sided with Hannibal two years later; li. 13.

<sup>3</sup> For Bruttian towns that had returned to Roman allegiance four years before cf. XXV. i. 2.

<sup>4</sup> About 20 miles southeast of Tarentum.

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- 5 ipsis faucibus portus posuit castra. Naves quas  
 Laevinus<sup>1</sup> tutandis commeatibus habuerat partim  
 machinationibus onerat apparatuque moenium op-  
 pugnantiorum, partim tormentis et saxis omnique  
 missilium telorum genere instruit, onerarias quoque,  
 6 non eas<sup>2</sup> solum quae remis agerentur, ut alii machinas  
 scalasque ad muros ferrent, alii procul ex navibus  
 7 volnerarent moenium propugnatores. Hae naves  
 ab aperto mari ut<sup>3</sup> urbem adgrederentur instructae  
 parataeque sunt; et erat liberum mare classe Punica,  
 cum Philippus oppugnare Aetolos pararet, Corcyram  
 8 tramissa. In Bruttii interim Cauloniae oppugna-  
 tores sub adventum<sup>4</sup> Hannibalis, ne opprimerentur,  
 in tumultum a praesenti impetu tutum, ad cetera  
 inopem, concessere.<sup>5</sup>
- 9 Fabium Tarentum obsidentem leve dictu momen-  
 tum ad rem ingentem potiundam adiuvit. Praesi-  
 dium Bruttiorum datum ab Hannibale Tarentini  
 habebant. Eius praesidii praefectus deperibat  
 amore mulierculae cuius frater in exercitu Fabii  
 10 consulis erat. Is certior litteris sororis factus de  
 nova consuetudine advenae locupletis atque inter  
 popularis tam honorati, spem nactus per sororem

<sup>1</sup> Laevinus *Unger*: il. iuius *P*: il iuius *CRM*: liuius *M<sup>1</sup>BDANJK Eds.*; cf. vii. 15 f.

<sup>2</sup> quoque, non eas *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> ut *C<sup>4</sup>N Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: om. *P(1)*, and *JK* (having  
 ut after naves).

<sup>4</sup> adventum *JK Aldus, Froben, Madvig*: adventu *P(1)N  
 Conway*.

<sup>5</sup> ad cetera inopem, concessere *Sp<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>JK Froben 2*: sere *P*  
 (omitting a line): se recepere (or cip-) *P<sup>2</sup>(1)N*.

<sup>1</sup> And opposite the citadel; XXV. xi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the smaller and swifter vessels, contrasted with  
 heavier ships probably anchored at a distance.

Tarentum he pitched camp at the very entrance to the harbour.<sup>1</sup> Of the ships which Laevinus had had to protect his supplies, the consul loaded some with devices and equipment for attacking city walls, while some of them he fitted out with artillery and stones and every kind of missile weapon. And so also with the merchantmen, not merely those propelled by oars,<sup>2</sup> in order that some crews should carry engines and ladders up to the walls, and others from ships at long range should wound the defenders on the walls. These ships were equipped and made ready to attack the city from the open sea. And the sea was unmolested by the Punic fleet, which had been sent over to Corcyra, since Philip was preparing to attack the Aetolians. In the country of the Bruttii meanwhile the besiegers of Caulonia,<sup>3</sup> to avoid being surprised, just before Hannibal's arrival withdrew to a hill that was safe from immediate attack, but otherwise offered nothing.

While Fabius was besieging Tarentum,<sup>4</sup> a circumstance hardly worth mentioning aided him in attaining his great objective. The Tarentines had a guard of Bruttians, furnished by Hannibal. The commander of that guard<sup>5</sup> was desperately in love with a young woman whose brother was in the army of Fabius, the consul. This brother, informed by a letter from his sister of her new acquaintance with a stranger who was rich and held in such honour by his people, conceived the hope that through his sister her

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xii. 6; xvi. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Of Polybius' narrative of the recovery of Tarentum only an introductory page has survived (X. i.).

<sup>5</sup> Not of the entire garrison, which was commanded by a Carthaginian, Carthalo; xvi. 5.

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- quolibet inPELLI amantem posse, quid speraret ad  
 11 consulem detulit. Quae cum haud vana cogitatio  
 visa esset, pro perfuga<sup>1</sup> iussus Tarentum transire,  
 ac per sororem praefecto conciliatus, primo occulte  
 temptando animum, dein satis explorata levitate  
 blanditiis muliebribus perpulit eum ad proditorem  
 12 custodiae loci cui praepositus erat. Ubi et ratio  
 agenda rei et tempus convenit, miles nocte per  
 intervalla stationum clam ex urbe emissus ea quae  
 acta erant quaeque ut agerentur convenerat ad  
 consulem refert.  
 13 Fabius vigilia prima dato signo iis qui in arce  
 erant quique custodiam portus habebant, ipse  
 circumito portu ab regione urbis in orientem versa  
 14 occultus consedit. Canere inde tubae simul ab  
 arce simul<sup>2</sup> a portu et ab navibus quae ab<sup>3</sup> aperto  
 mari adpulsae erant, clamorque undique cum ingenti  
 tumultu unde minimum periculi erat de industria  
 15 ortus. Consul interim silentio continebat suos.  
 Igitur Democrates, qui praefectus antea<sup>4</sup> classis  
 fuerat, forte illo<sup>5</sup> loco praepositus, postquam quieta  
 omnia circa se vidit, alias partes eo tumultu personare  
 16 ut captae urbis interdum excitaretur clamor, veritus  
 ne inter cunctationem suam consul aliquam vim  
 faceret ac signa inferret, praesidium ad arcem,

<sup>1</sup> perfuga CJK: terfuga PR: profuga Sp. (om. preceding pro): perfuga (om. pro) Rhenanus, Froben 2: transfuga est DAN: tran(s)fuga B<sup>2</sup> Aldus.

<sup>2</sup> simul P(1)NJK Aldus: et Sp Froben 2.

<sup>3</sup> ab P(3) Aldus: om. ANSpJK Froben 2.

<sup>4</sup> antea Sp<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK: om. P(1)N.

<sup>5</sup> illo P(1)N Aldus: illi Sp<sup>2</sup>A<sup>2</sup>JK Froben 2, Conway.

<sup>1</sup> On leaving his camp near the bridge-head Fabius must have left troops to guard the camp and harbour entrance.

lover could be swayed in any desired direction, and informed the consul what he hoped for. Since that seemed no empty idea, he was bidden to go over to Tarentum, as if he were a deserter. And having won the friendship of the commander through his sister, he first guardedly sounded him, then, his lack of character being demonstrated, he used a woman's blandishments to lead him on to betray the defence of a place of which he had been put in command. When the method of carrying out the plan and the time also had been settled, a soldier, sent out of the city secretly by night through intervals between outposts, reported to the consul the steps which had been taken and those which it had been agreed should be taken.

Fabius at the first watch gave the signal to the men in the citadel and to those who were guarding the harbour<sup>1</sup>; and thereupon, making the circuit of the harbour, he established himself in hiding on the eastern side of the city. Then trumpets sounded at the same time from the citadel and from the harbour, and from the ships which had approached from the open sea, and from all sides shouting and great uproar were purposely raised where there was the least danger. The consul meantime kept his men quiet. Accordingly Democrates, who had previously been admiral of the fleet,<sup>2</sup> and chanced to be in command at that point, on seeing everything near him quiet, while other quarters resounded with such an uproar that from time to time shouts arose as in a captured city, feared that, while he himself delayed, the consul might make an assault and bring in his troops. He thereupon led his forces over to

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXVI. xxxix. 6.

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- unde maxime terribilis accidebat sonus, traducit.  
 17 Fabius cum et ex temporis spatio et ex silentio ipso, quod, ubi paulo ante strepabant excitantes vocantesque ad arma, inde nulla accidebat vox, deductas custodias sensisset, ferri scalas ad eam partem muri qua Bruttiorum cohortem praesidium agitare<sup>1</sup>  
 18 proditiōis conciliator nuntiaverat iubet. Ea primum captus est murus adiuvantibus recipientibusque Brutiis, et transensum in urbem est; inde<sup>2</sup> et<sup>3</sup> proxuma refracta porta, ut frequenti agmine signa  
 19 inferrentur. Tum clamore sublato sub ortum ferme lucis nullo obvio armato in forum perveniunt, omnesque undique qui ad arcem portumque pugnant in se converterunt.

XVI. Proelium in aditu fori maiore impetu quam perseverantia commissum est. Non animo, non armis, non arte belli, non vigore ac viribus corporis  
 2 par Romano Tarentinus erat. Igitur pilis tantum coniectis, prius paene quam consererent manus terga dederunt, dilapsique per nota urbis itinera in  
 3 suas amicorumque domos. Duo ex ducibus Nico et Democrates fortiter pugnantes cecidere, Philemenus, qui proditiōis ad Hannibalem auctor fuerat, cum  
 4 citato equo ex proelio avectus esset, vacuus<sup>4</sup> paulo post equus errans<sup>5</sup> per urbem cognitus, corpus

<sup>1</sup> agitare P(1)NJ Rhenanus, Froben 2: cogitare Sp.

<sup>2</sup> inde P(1)N Aldus: deinde SpJK Froben 2.

<sup>3</sup> et C<sup>3</sup>DAN Aldus: ex P(3): om. SpJK Froben 2.

<sup>4</sup> vacuus Aldus, Froben, Eds.: vagus P(1)NJK Conway.

<sup>5</sup> errans P(1)NJK (Aldus, Froben adding -que): bracketed by Walters, Conway.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Temenitis Gate of XXV. ix. 9 f.

the citadel, from which came the most terrifying noise. Fabius, both from the time elapsed and from the mere silence—since no voice came from the direction where a little while before there was shouting to waken men and call them to arms—was aware that the guards had been removed. Accordingly he ordered ladders to be carried to that part of the wall where the go-between in the betrayal had reported that the cohort of Bruttians was on guard duty. There first the wall was taken, the men being aided and welcomed by the Bruttians, and they climbed over the wall into the city. Then also the nearest gate<sup>1</sup> was broken open, so that a dense column might march in. Thereupon raising a shout they made their way into the market-place at about daybreak, while no armed men encountered them, and they drew against themselves an attack on every side from all the men who were fighting at the citadel and by the harbour.

XVI. They joined battle at the entrance to the market-place with more spirit than persistence. The Tarentine was no match for the Roman in courage, in arms, in the art of war, in bodily energy and strength. Therefore, after merely throwing their javelins, they retreated almost before they came to blows, and slipped away along the familiar streets of the city to their homes and those of friends. Two of their commanders, Nico and Democrates, fell fighting bravely. Philemenus,<sup>2</sup> who was the originator of the betrayal to Hannibal, had ridden away at full speed from the battle; and a little later his riderless horse was recognized wandering about

<sup>1</sup> For Nico and Philemenus cf. XXV. viii. 3 ff.; ix. 8 ff.; XXVI. xxxix. 15.

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nusquam<sup>1</sup> inventum est; creditum volgo est in  
 5 puteum apertum ex equo praecipitasse.<sup>2</sup> Cartha-  
 lonem autem, praefectum Punici praesidii, cum  
 commemoratione paterni hospitii positis armis venien-  
 6 tem ad consulem miles obviis obtruncat. Alii alios  
 passim<sup>3</sup> sine discrimine armatos inermis<sup>4</sup> caedunt,  
 Carthaginienses Tarentinosque pariter. Bruttii  
 quoque multi passim<sup>5</sup> interfecti, seu per errorem  
 seu vetere in eos insito odio seu ad prodicionis  
 famam, ut vi potius atque armis captum Tarentum  
 7 videretur, exstinguendam. Tum a caede ad diri-  
 piendam urbem discursum. Triginta milia<sup>6</sup> servilium  
 capitum dicuntur capta, argenti vis ingens facti  
 signatique, auri tria milia octoginta<sup>7</sup> pondo, signa  
 et<sup>8</sup> tabulae, prope ut Syracusarum ornamenta  
 8 aequaverint.<sup>9</sup> Sed maiore animo generis eius praeda  
 abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus; qui interrogante  
 scriba<sup>10</sup> quid fieri signis vellet ingentis magnitudinis  
 —di sunt, suo quisque habitu in modum pugnantium  
 formati—deos iratos Tarentinis relinqui iussit.

<sup>1</sup> nusquam *AJK*: nunquam (or num-) *P(3)N*.

<sup>2</sup> praecipitasse *P(3)Sp? Froben 2*: -cipitatum *AN<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus*.

<sup>3</sup> passim *P(1)NJK*: bracketed by Conway.

<sup>4</sup> inermis *P(1)N*: -que added by *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>5</sup> passim *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK*: om. *P(1)A<sup>1</sup>N*.

<sup>6</sup> xxx milia *JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs*: mil(l)ia xxx *P(1)N*.

<sup>7</sup> tria milia octoginta *Madvig, Emend., Conway*: lxxxiii millia *P(1)N*: lxxxiii m. *JK*. Cf. Plutarch *Fabius xxii. 4*.

<sup>8</sup> signa et *Alschevski*: signata *P(1)*: signa *N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: signa ac *Weissenborn*.

<sup>9</sup> aequaverint *P(3) Aldus*: -arent *Sp?A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Froben 2*: -arint *W. Heraeus*.

<sup>10</sup> interrogante scriba *Drakenborch*: -gantiscribae *C<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: -gatis scribae *P(1)N*: Conway inserts dagger.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably with Fabius, and the tie was inherited. But his protest was in vain.

the city, but his body was nowhere found. It was B.C. 209  
 generally believed that he had thrown himself from  
 his horse into an open well. Moreover Carthalo,  
 commander of the Punic garrison, mentioning his  
 father's guest-friendship,<sup>1</sup> had laid down his arms  
 and was on his way to the consul, when he was  
 slain by a soldier who met him. Other soldiers slew  
 other men everywhere, whether armed or unarmed,  
 Carthaginians and Tarentines alike. Everywhere Brut-  
 tians also were slain, many of them, either by mistake  
 or out of old, inbred hatred of them, or to blot out the  
 report of treachery, that Tarentum might be thought  
 to have been captured rather by force of arms.  
 Then from the slaughter they dispersed to plunder  
 the city. Thirty thousand slaves are said to have been  
 captured, an immense quantity of silver, wrought  
 and coined, of gold three thousand and eighty  
 pounds,<sup>2</sup> statues and paintings, so that they almost  
 rivalled the adornments of Syracuse.<sup>3</sup> But Fabius  
 showed more magnanimity in refraining from plun-  
 der of that kind than did Marcellus. When a clerk  
 asked what he wished to have done with statues  
 of colossal size—they are gods in the form of  
 warriors, but each in his own attitude—Fabius or-  
 dered that their angry gods be left to the Tarentines.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If the MS. tradition (83,000) could be accepted as conceivable, we should be obliged to explain how Capua, so much more prosperous than Tarentum, could have yielded only 2,070 pounds of gold to the captors; XXVI. xiv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> For statues and paintings removed by Marcellus from Syracuse to Rome cf. XXV. xi. 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> One colossal statue of Jupiter, attributed to Lysippus, Fabius was unable to remove; Pliny *N.H.* XXXIV. 40. Another of Hercules he brought to Rome and set up on the Capitol; cf. Plutarch *Fabius xxii. 5*, making a comparison with Marcellus, but unfavourable to Fabius; cf. *Marcellus xxi. 3 f.*

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9 Murus inde qui urbem ab arce dirimebat dirutus est ac disiectus.

Dum haec <sup>1</sup> aguntur, Hannibal, iis qui Cauloniam  
10 obsidebant in deditionem acceptis, audita oppugnatione Tarenti dies noctesque cursim agmine acto, cum festinans ad opem ferendam captam urbem audisset, "Et Romani suum Hannibalem" inquit "habent; eadem qua ceperamus arte Tarentum  
11 amisimus." Ne tamen fugientis modo convertisse agmen videretur, quo constiterat <sup>2</sup> loco quinque milia ferme ab urbe posuit castra. Ibi paucos  
12 moratus dies Metapontum sese recepit. Inde duos Metapontinos cum litteris principum eius civitatis ad Fabium Tarentum mittit, fidem ab consule accepturos inpunita iis <sup>3</sup> priora fore, si Metapontum  
13 cum praesidio Punico prodidissent. Fabius vera quae <sup>4</sup> adferrent esse ratus, diem qua accessurus esset Metapontum constituit litterasque ad principes  
14 dedit, quae ad Hannibalem delatae sunt. Enimvero laetus successu fraudis, si ne Fabius quidem dolo invictus fuisset, haud procul Metaponto insidias  
15 ponit. Fabio auspicianti, priusquam egrederetur ab Tarento, aves semel atque iterum non addixerunt. Hostia quoque caesa consulenti deos haruspex cavendum a fraude hostili et ab insidiis praedixit.

<sup>1</sup> haec, after this A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus and Froben insert Tarenti, not found in P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> constiterat C<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup>A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus: constituerat P(1)N.

<sup>3</sup> iis PR Aldus: his R<sup>2</sup>MBDANK: hiis J: tis C: om. Sp<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup> Froben 2, Conway.

<sup>4</sup> vera quae CMBDAN Aldus, Froben: veraq. P (-que R); quae (adferrent) vera JK.

Then the wall which separated the city from the citadel was torn down and completely destroyed.

While these things were going on, Hannibal received the surrender of the force besieging Caulonia and, on hearing of the attack upon Tarentum, urged his column rapidly forward day and night. When informed, while hastening to bring aid, that the city had been taken, "The Romans also," he said, "have their Hannibal; by the same art by which we had captured Tarentum we have lost it." Nevertheless, in order not to appear to have reversed his column as if in retreat, he pitched camp just where he had halted, about five miles from the city. After lingering there a few days he withdrew to Metapontum. From there he sent to Fabius at Tarentum two men of Metapontum carrying a letter from the leading men of that city and expecting to receive the consul's promise that their previous acts would go unpunished, if they should betray Metapontum and its Punic garrison. Fabius, assuming their message to be true, appointed a day on which he would come to Metapontum, and gave them a letter addressed to the leading citizens—a letter which was delivered to Hannibal. Pleased indeed at the success of the ruse, if even Fabius was to prove not unconquerable by trickery, Hannibal laid an ambush not far from Metapontum. When Fabius endeavoured to take the auspices before leaving Tarentum, the fowls were again and again unfavourable.<sup>1</sup> And when with the slaughter of a victim also he consulted the gods, the soothsayer declared that he must be on his guard against a ruse of the enemy and against an ambus-

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the sacred fowls refused to eat.



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16 Metapontini, postquam ad constitutam<sup>1</sup> non venerat diem, remissi, ut cunctantem hortarentur, ac repente comprehensi, metu gravioris quaestionis detegunt insidias.

XVII. Aestatis eius principio qua haec agebantur, P. Scipio in Hispania cum hiemem totam reconciliandis barbarorum animis partim donis, partim remissione obsidum captivorumque absumpsisset, Edesco ad eum clarus inter duces Hispanos venit.

2 Erant coniunx liberique eius apud Romanos; sed praeter eam causam etiam velut fortuita inclinatio animorum, quae Hispaniam omnem averterat ad  
3 Romanum a Punico imperio, traxit eum. Eadem causa Indibili Mandonioque fuit, haud dubie omnis Hispaniae principibus, cum omni popularium manu relicto Hasdrubale secedendi in imminentes castris eius tumulos, unde per continentia iuga tutus  
4 receptus ad Romanos esset. Hasdrubal, cum hostium res tantis augescere incrementis cerneret, suas imminui, ac fore ut, nisi audendo aliquid moveret, qua coepissent fluere,<sup>2</sup> dimicare quam primum  
5 statuit. Scipio avidior etiam certaminis erat, cum a<sup>3</sup> spe quam successus rerum augebat, tum quod, priusquam iungerentur hostium exercitus, cum uno dimicare duce exercituque quam simul cum

<sup>1</sup> constitutam JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs: constitutum P(1)N<sup>1</sup> Madvig, Conway.

<sup>2</sup> fluere P(1)(C?)N Aldus: ruerent SpA<sup>2</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Froben 2, Conway.

<sup>3</sup> a Sp? Froben 2: ea P(1)NJK Aldus.

<sup>1</sup> On the art of the haruspices and the widespread practice of finding omens in the *exta*, particularly the liver, cf. Pease's notes on Cicero *de Div.* I. 16. Cf. below xxvi. 13.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. by torture; cf. iii. 5; XXIII. xxxiv. 7.

cade.<sup>1</sup> The men of Metapontum, when the consul B.C. 209 had not come on the appointed day, were sent back to urge him if he hesitated; and being suddenly seized, in fear of a more relentless inquiry<sup>2</sup> they revealed the plot.

XVII. At the beginning of the summer in which these events were taking place, after Publius Scipio in Spain had spent the entire winter in winning over the support of the barbarians, partly by gifts and partly by restoring their hostages and captives, Edesco, who was eminent among the Spanish chieftains, came to him.<sup>3</sup> His wife and children were in the hands of the Romans; but in addition to this reason he was drawn by that more or less fortuitous trend of feeling which had turned all Spain away from Punic rule to Roman. Indibilis and Mandonius,<sup>4</sup> unquestionably the leading men of all Spain, had the same reason for leaving Hasdrubal, taking with them the whole force of their countrymen and withdrawing to heights which overlooked his camp, and from which there was a safe retreat along continuous ridges to the Romans. Hasdrubal, seeing that the resources of the enemy were increasing by such large accessions, while his own were diminishing and, unless he ventured to do something, they would melt away to the Roman side, as they had begun to do, decided to fight as soon as possible. Scipio was even more eager for battle, both because of confidence which was increasing with his success, and because he preferred to fight with one general and army before the armies of the enemy should unite, rather than with them all at

<sup>1</sup> More of Ede(s)co in Polybius X. xxxiv. f.

<sup>4</sup> For these leaders of the Iltergetes cf. XXII. xxi. 2 f.; XXV. xxxiv. 6 f.; XXVI. xlix. 11; Polybius X. xxxv. 6 ff.

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- 6 universis malebat. Ceterum, etiamsi cum pluribus pariter dimicandum foret, arte quadam copias auxerat. Nam cum videret nullum esse navium usum, quia vacua omnis Hispaniae ora classibus Punicis erat,<sup>1</sup> subductis navibus Tarracone navales socios terrestribus copiis addidit. Et armorum adfatim erat, et<sup>2</sup> captorum Carthagine<sup>3</sup> et quae post captam eam fecerat tanto opificum numero incluso.<sup>4</sup>
- 8 Cum iis copiis Scipio veris principio ab Tarracone egressus—iam enim et Laelius redierat ab Roma, sine quo nihil maioris rei motum volebat—ducere
- 9 ad hostem pergit. Per omnia pacata eunti, ut cuiusque populi fines transiret, prosequentibus excipientibusque sociis, Indibilis et Mandonius cum suis
- 10 copiis occurrerunt. Indibilis<sup>5</sup> pro utroque locutus haudquaquam ut<sup>6</sup> barbarus stolidè incauteve, sed potius cum verecundia ac<sup>7</sup> gravitate, propiorque excusanti transitionem ut necessariam quam glorianti
- 11 eam velut primam occasionem raptam; scire enim se transfugae nomen execrabile veteribus sociis, novis suspectum esse; neque eum se reprehendere morem<sup>8</sup> hominum, si tamen<sup>9</sup> anceps odium causa, non
- 12 nomen faciat. Merita inde sua in duces Cartha-

<sup>1</sup> Punicis erat *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.*<sup>2</sup> et *Alschevski: om. all MSS.*<sup>3</sup> captorum Carthagine *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, one line.*<sup>4</sup> numero incluso *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, probably a short line at the end of a paragraph in P's exemplar.*<sup>5</sup> et Mandonius . . . occurrerunt. Indibilis *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, probably three lines omitted on account of the repeated name.*<sup>6</sup> ut *Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)NJK.*<sup>7</sup> ac *Alschevski: et C<sup>1</sup>! : om. P(1)NJK.*

once. But even supposing he should have to fight B.C. 209 with several at the same time, he had enlarged his forces by a certain artifice. For, seeing that he was making no use of ships, since the whole coast of Spain was rid of Punic fleets, he beached his vessels at Tarraco and added their crews to the land forces. And arms he had in abundance, both those captured at (New) Carthage and those which after the capture of that city he had caused to be made by impounding a large number of artisans.

With these troops Scipio set out at the beginning of spring from Tarraco and proceeded to lead against the enemy; for by this time Laelius also, without whom he did not wish any important action to be taken, had returned from Rome. As Scipio was passing through an entirely peaceful region, while allies escorted and welcomed him whenever he crossed the boundary of a tribe, Indibilis and Mandonius with their forces met him. Indibilis spoke for them both, not at all boorishly or carelessly, as one might expect of a barbarian, but rather with modesty and dignity, and more like a man who excused their change of sides as necessary than one who bragged that they had, as it were, seized that as the first opportunity. For he was aware, he said, that the word deserter was detested by old allies, suspected by new ones; and he did not blame men for that habit, if only it was the motive, not the word, which produced hatred in both parties. He then recounted their services to the Carthaginian

<sup>8</sup> morem *A<sup>2</sup>z Rhenanus, Froben 2: amorem SpA<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>: nomen P(1)(A<sup>2</sup>)N Aldus.*<sup>9</sup> tamen *Sp<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup> Froben 2, Drakenborch, Eds.: tam P(1)NJK Aldus, Alschevski, Conway.*

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ginienses commemoravit, avaritiam contra eorum  
superbiamque et omnis generis iniurias in se atque  
13 populares. Itaque corpus dumtaxat suum ad id  
tempus apud eos fuisse; animum iam pridem ibi  
esse ubi ius ac fas crederent coli. Ad deos quoque  
confugere supplices qui nequeant hominum vim atque  
14 iniurias pati; se id Scipionem orare, ut transitio sibi  
nec fraudi apud eum nec honori sit. Quales ex  
hac<sup>1</sup> die experiundo cognorit, perinde operae  
eorum pretium faceret.<sup>2</sup>

15 Ita prorsus respondet facturum Romanus, nec pro  
transfugis habiturum qui non duxerint societatem  
ratam ubi nec divini quicquam nec humani sanctum  
16 esset. Productae deinde in conspectum iis coniuges  
17 liberique lacrumantibus gaudio redduntur. Atque  
eo die in hospitium abducti; postero die foedere  
accepta fides, dimissique ad copias adducendas.  
Isdem deinde castris tendebant, donec ducibus iis  
ad hostem perventum est.

XVIII. Proximus Carthaginiensium exercitus Has-  
drubalis prope urbem Baeculam erat. Pro castris  
2 equitum stationes habebant. In eas velites ante-  
signanisque et qui primi agminis erant advenientes

<sup>1</sup> hac P(1)N Aldus: ea SpA<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Froben 2.

<sup>2</sup> faceret P(1)N Aldus: faciat SpN<sup>1</sup>JK Froben 2.

<sup>1</sup> Not mentioning their attack upon the Romans in XXII.  
l.c. For their later disloyalties see XXVIII. xxiv. 3; xxxi.  
5 ff.; XXIX. i. 19 ff.; Polybius XI. xxix. 3; xxxi. ff.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius gives only an outline; X. xxxvii. fin.

generals,<sup>1</sup> and on the other hand the greed and haughtiness of the generals and the wrongs of every sort they had done to them and their countrymen. Consequently it was till then merely their body that had been with them; their mind had long since been where they believed justice and right were held in honour. Even to the gods, he said, do those who cannot endure the violence and the wrongs of men flee as suppliants; as for themselves, their prayer to Scipio was that he should not reckon the change of sides either to their detriment or to their credit. According as he should henceforward come to know their worth by testing them, let him in that light estimate the value of their service.<sup>2</sup>

The Roman replied that he would do precisely that, and not regard as deserters men who did not consider an alliance valid in which nothing either divine or human was sacred. Thereupon their wives and children were brought before their eyes and given over to them as they wept for joy. And on that day they were escorted to guest-quarters, while the next day their promise of loyalty was accepted on the basis of a treaty, and they were sent away to bring up their forces. Thereafter they were quartered in the same camp, until with these men as guides the enemy was reached.

XVIII. The nearest army of the Carthaginians, that of Hasdrubal, was close to the city of Baecula.<sup>3</sup> Before the camp they had cavalry outposts. Upon these the light-armed, the vanguard and men at the head of the column, just as they came up after the

<sup>3</sup> A short distance north of the river Baetis, not far from Castulo, and in the silver mining region; XXVIII. xiii. 5; Polybius l.c. xxxviii. 7.

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ex itinere, priusquam castris locum caperent,<sup>1</sup> adeo contemptim impetum fecerunt ut facile appareret  
 3 quid utrique parti animorum esset. In castra trepida fuga compulsi equites sunt, signaque Romana portis  
 4 prope ipsis inlata. Atque illo quidem die inritatis tantum ad certamen animis castra Romani posuerunt.  
 5 Nocte Hasdrubal in tumulum copias recipit plano campo in summo patentem; fluvius ab tergo, ante  
 circaque velut ripa praeceps oram eius omnem  
 6 cingebat. Suberat et altera inferior summissa fastigio planities; eam quoque altera crepido haud  
 7 facilius in ascensum<sup>2</sup> ambibat. In hunc inferiorem campum postero die Hasdrubal, postquam stantem pro castris hostium aciem vidit, equites Numidas leviumque armorum Baliares et Afros demisit.  
 8 Scipio circumvectus ordines signaque ostendebat hostem, praedamnata spe aequo dimicandi<sup>3</sup> campo captantem tumulos, loci fiducia, non virtutis aut armorum<sup>4</sup> stare in conspectu; sed altiora moenia habuisse Carthaginem, quae transcendisset miles  
 9 Romanus: nec tumulos nec arcem, ne mare quidem armis obstitisse suis. Ad id fore altitudines quas cepissent hostibus, ut per praecipitia et praerupta salientes fugerent; eam quoque se illis fugam  
 10 clausurum. Cohortesque duas alteram tenere fauces

<sup>1</sup> caperent *N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: acciperent *P(1)N Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> facilius in ascensum *P(1)NJ Aldus, Froben (-su K)*: facilius adacensu *Madvig*.

<sup>3</sup> aequo dimicandi *JK Froben 2*: dimicandi aequo *P(1)N Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> aut armorum *Sp<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Froben 2*: armorumque *P(1)N Aldus*.

march and before choosing a site for a camp, made an B.C. 209 attack with such disdain that it was easy to see what was the spirit of each side. The horsemen were forced into the camp in alarm and flight, and the Roman standards were all but carried inside the very gates. And on that day, indeed, after they had merely provoked each other to battle, the Romans pitched camp; but by night Hasdrubal withdrew his troops to a hill the top of which formed an open, level plain.<sup>1</sup> The river was behind it, while in front and at the sides a steep bank, as it were, encircled its entire margin. Beneath was also a lower level area, gently sloping down. This also was surrounded by another ledge no easier to climb. Down to this lower plain Hasdrubal next day, on seeing the enemy's line standing before his camp, sent down his Numidian cavalry and the light-armed Balearic and African troops.

Scipio, while riding about his ranks and standards, pointed out that the enemy, having given up in advance the hope of fighting on level ground, were hugging the hills and were standing before them in reliance upon position, not upon courage and arms. But (New) Carthage, he said, had possessed higher walls, which the Roman soldier had scaled; and neither hills nor citadel, not even the sea, had withstood his arms. The heights which the enemy had taken would only serve them for purposes of flight, as they leaped over precipices and crags. He would cut them off from such a flight too. And he ordered one of two cohorts to hold the entrance

<sup>1</sup> In Polybius' account Hasdrubal had occupied this stronger position before the first attack of the Romans, two days after their arrival (*l.c.* xxxviii. 8 f.).

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vallis per quam deferretur amnis iubet, alteram viam  
 insidere quae ab urbe per tumuli obliqua in agros  
 ferret. Ipse expeditos qui pridie stationes hostium  
 pepulerant ad levem armaturam infimo stantem  
 11 supercilio ducit. Per aspreta<sup>1</sup> primum, nihil aliud  
 quam via impediti, iere. Deinde ut sub ictum vene-  
 runt, telorum primo omnis generis vis ingens effusa  
 12 in eos est; ipsi contra saxa quae locus strata passim,  
 omnia ferme missilia, praebet ingerere, non milites  
 solum sed etiam turba calorum inmixta armatis.  
 13 Ceterum quamquam ascensus difficilis erat, et  
 prope obruebantur telis saxisque, adsuetudine  
 tamen succedendi muros et pertinacia animi subierunt  
 14 primi. Qui simul cepere aliquid aequi loci ubi firmo  
 consisterent gradu, levem et concursatorem hostem  
 atque intervallo tutum, cum procul missilibus pugna  
 eluditur, instabilem eundem ad comminus conserendas  
 manus, expulerunt loco et cum caede magna in aciem  
 15 altiori<sup>2</sup> superstantem tumulo inpegere. Inde Scipio  
 iussis adversus mediam evadere aciem victoribus ce-  
 teras copias cum Laelio dividit, atque eum parte  
 dextra tumuli circumire, donec mollioris ascensus  
 viam inveniret, iubet; ipse ab laeva, circuitu haud  
 16 magno, in transversos hostes incurrit. Inde primo

<sup>1</sup> aspreta *Sp Froben* 2: aspera *P(1)NJK Aldus*.<sup>2</sup> altiori *SpJK*: altiore *P(1)N Aldus*.

into the valley through which the river flowed, the  
 other to block the road leading from the city down  
 the slope of the hill into the country. He himself  
 led the unencumbered men, who the day before had  
 routed the outposts of the enemy, to meet the light-  
 armed standing on the lowest brow of the hill. At  
 first they advanced over rugged ground, hampered  
 only by the footing. Then when they came within  
 range, at first an immense number of missile weapons  
 of every kind was showered upon them. In return  
 they hurled stones which the place affords, strewn  
 broadcast and almost all of them of a size to be  
 thrown, and not only did the soldiers do so, but also  
 the mass of camp-servants mingling with the armed  
 men.

But although the ascent was difficult and they were  
 almost overwhelmed by missile weapons and stones,  
 still, thanks to their practice in scaling walls and to  
 their persistence, they were the first to reach the top.  
 As soon as they had taken some level ground where  
 they could get a firm footing, they dislodged the  
 light-armed enemy—troops that are accustomed to  
 skirmishing and, while avoiding the real battle by  
 hurling long-range missiles, are protected by distance,  
 but prove unsteady in the face of hand-to-hand con-  
 flict. Thus with great slaughter they drove them  
 against the battle-line standing on the higher  
 level of the hill. Then Scipio ordered his victorious  
 troops to go up facing the centre of the line, divided  
 the rest of his forces with Laelius, and bade him  
 circle round the right side of the hill, until he found  
 a way less difficult of ascent. He himself on the  
 left, after a moderate circuit, charged into the flank  
 of the enemy. In consequence the line was at first

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turbata acies est, dum ad circumsonantem undique clamorem flectere cornua et obvertere ordines  
 17 volunt. Hoc tumultu et Laelius subiit, et dum pedem referunt, ne ab tergo vulnerarentur, laxata prima acies locusque ad evadendum et mediis datus  
 18 est, qui per tam iniquum locum stantibus integris ordinibus elephantisque ante signa locatis numquam  
 19 evasisent. Cum ab omni parte caedes fieret, Scipio, qui laevo cornu in dextrum incucurrerat,<sup>1</sup>  
 20 maxime in nuda latera hostium pugnabat; et iam ne fugae quidem patebat locus; nam et stationes utrimque Romanae dextra laevaue insederant vias, et porta<sup>2</sup> castrorum ducis principumque fuga clausa erat,<sup>3</sup> addita trepidatione elephantorum, quos territos aequae atque hostes timebant. Caesa igitur ad octo milia hominum.

XIX. Hasdrubal, iam antequam dimicaret pecunia rapta elephantisque praemissis, quam plurimos poterat de fuga excipiens praeter Tagum flumen ad  
 2 Pyrenaeum tendit. Scipio castris hostium potitus, cum praeter libera capita omnem praedam militibus concessisset, in recensendis captivis decem milia

<sup>1</sup> incucurrerat *P(3)*: incurrerat *ANJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> porta *P(3)N*: portam *MJK Aldus, Froben*: -tas *A.*

<sup>3</sup> clausa erat *P(3)N*: clauserat *RMBDANJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>1</sup> His original intention was to cross the Pyrenees about this time on his way to Italy; Polybius X. xxxix. 7 f.; cf. above, v. 12.

<sup>2</sup> By this route (vaguely indicated, as in Polybius *l.c.* § 8) Hasdrubal avoided any possibility of Roman opposition while following the upper valleys of the Tagus and the Ebro. The only indication which we have of his passage over into Gaul

thrown into disorder, while the men tried to wheel B.C. 209  
 and made their ranks face the shouts resounding on every side. In the midst of this disorder Laelius also reached the top; and the front line of the enemy, as the men gave way and were afraid of being wounded from the rear, lost its solidity, and room was given even for the Romans in the centre to mount to the top. These men would never have done so over such unfavourable ground if the ranks had stood unbroken with the elephants placed in front of the standards. While on all sides the slaughter was in progress, Scipio, who with the left wing had charged into the enemy's right wing, was fighting especially against the exposed flank of the enemy. And no longer was space left open even for flight; for both on the right and on the left Roman outposts had blocked the roads, and the gate of the camp was obstructed by the flight of the general and chief officers, while in addition there was the panic of the elephants, of which, when terrified, they were as much afraid as of the enemy. Accordingly about eight thousand men were slain.

XIX. Hasdrubal, who even before the battle had hastily gathered up his money and had sent elephants in advance,<sup>1</sup> picking up as many men as possible in the course of their flight, directed his march along the river Tagus towards the Pyrenees.<sup>2</sup> Scipio took possession of the enemy's camp, and after giving up to the soldiers all the booty except free persons, in listing the captives found ten thousand foot-soldiers is in Appian *Hisp.* 28, who says Hasdrubal crossed near the northern ocean, i.e. the Atlantic. The time was really the autumn of 208 B.C., and the following spring he crossed the Alps; cf. note on p. 296.

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peditum duo milia equitum invenit. Ex iis <sup>1</sup> Hispanos  
 sine pretio omnes domum dimisit, Afros vendere  
 3 quaestorem iussit. Circumfusa inde multitudo His-  
 panorum et ante deditorum et pridie captorum regem  
 4 eum ingenti consensu appellavit. Tum Scipio silentio  
 per praeconem facto sibi maximum nomen impera-  
 toris esse dixit, quo se milites sui appellassent; regium  
 nomen alibi magnum, Romae intolerabile <sup>2</sup> esse.  
 5 Regalem animum in se esse, si id in hominis ingenio  
 amplissimum ducerent, tacite <sup>3</sup> iudicarent; vocis  
 6 usurpatione abstinerent. Sensere etiam barbari  
 magnitudinem animi, cuius miraculo nominis alii  
 mortales stuperent, id ex tam alto <sup>4</sup> fastigio  
 aspernantis.  
 7 Dona inde regulis principibusque Hispanorum  
 divisa, et ex magna copia captorum equorum trecen-  
 8 tos quos vellet eligere Indibilem iussit. Cum Afros  
 venderet iussu imperatoris quaestor, puerum adultum  
 inter eos forma insigni cum audisset regii generis  
 9 esse, ad Scipionem misit. Quem cum percunctaretur  
 Scipio quis et cuias et cur id aetatis in castris fuisset,  
 Numidam esse <sup>5</sup> ait, Massivam populares vocare;  
 orbem a patre relictum, apud maternum avum

<sup>1</sup> iis *J Aldus, Froben*: his *K Conway*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>2</sup> intolerabile *P(1)NJK Aldus*: intolerandum *Sp Froben 2*.

<sup>3</sup> tacite(-tae) *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: taciti *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> alto *A<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: magno *P(1)N*.

<sup>5</sup> esse *P(1)N*: esse se *N<sup>2</sup>JK*: se esse *A<sup>2</sup> Aldus, Froben*.

and two thousand horsemen. Of these he sent all B.C. 209  
 the Spaniards to their homes without ransom; the  
 Africans he ordered the quaestor to sell. Then the  
 crowd of Spaniards, both those previously surrendered  
 and those captured the day before, flocked round  
 him and with great unanimity hailed him as king.  
 Thereupon Scipio, after silence had been secured by  
 a herald, said that his highest title was that of  
 general-in-command; with that his soldiers had  
 addressed him; <sup>1</sup> the title of a king, elsewhere in  
 high honour, was not to be endured at Rome. As  
 for his having the spirit of a king, if they thought  
*that* was the noblest thing in the nature of man, let  
 it be their silent verdict; from the use of the word  
 let them refrain. <sup>2</sup> Even the barbarians appreciated  
 the magnanimity of a man who from so lofty a height  
 scorned a title by whose fascination the rest of  
 mortals were dazed.

Then gifts were apportioned to the princes and  
 chieftains of the Spaniards, and out of the large  
 number of captured horses he ordered Indibilis to  
 select three hundred of his own choosing. While  
 the quaestor at the general's command was selling  
 the Africans, and had heard that a well-grown boy of  
 conspicuous beauty among them was of royal race,  
 he sent him to Scipio. When Scipio asked him who  
 he was and from what region, and why at that age he  
 was in the camp, he said he was a Numidian; that  
 his people called him Massiva; that, left an orphan  
 by his father, he had been brought up in the house of

<sup>1</sup> This (though not mentioned by Livy as such) is the  
 earliest known instance of a commander being saluted as  
*imperator* by his troops.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Polybius *l.c.* xl. 5.

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Galam, regem Numidarum, eductum,<sup>1</sup> cum avunculo Masinissa, qui nuper cum equitatu subsidio Carthaginiensibus venisset, in Hispaniam traiecisse; prohibitum propter aetatem a Masinissa numquam ante proelium inisse; eo die quo pugnatum cum Romanis esset, inscio avunculo, clam armis equoque sumpto in aciem exisse; ibi prolapso equo effusum in praiceps captum ab Romanis esse. Scipio cum adservari Numidam iussisset, quae pro tribunali agenda erant peragit; inde cum se in praetorium recepisset, vocatum eum interrogat velletne ad Masinissam reverti. Cum effusis gaudio lacrimis cupere vero diceret, tum puero anulum aureum, tunicam lato clavo cum Hispano sagulo et aurea fibula equumque ornatum donat, iussisque prosequi quoad vellet equitibus dimisit.

XX. De bello inde consilium habitum. Et auctoribus quibusdam ut confestim Hasdrubalem consequeretur, anceps id ratus, ne Mago atque alter<sup>2</sup> Hasdrubal cum eo iungerent copias, praesidio tantum ad insidendum Pyrenaeum misso ipse reliquum aestatis recipiendis in fidem Hispaniae populis absumpsit.

3 Paucis post proelium factum ad Baeculam diebus, cum Scipio rediens iam Tarraconem saltu Castulo-

<sup>1</sup> eductum *BDAN*: edictum *P(3)*: educatum *M<sup>a</sup>A<sup>a</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> alter *N<sup>a</sup>JK Luchs*: om. *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: cf. § 5.

<sup>1</sup> For the two Hasdrubals and Mago cf. also XXVI. xx. 6; XXV. xxxii. 3-8.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning obviously the road near the Mediterranean. At the pass (Le Perthus, ca. 940 feet) it was about 12 miles back from a rugged coast. Scipio was criticized for allowing Has-

his maternal grandfather Gala, king of the Numidians; that with his uncle Masinissa, who had recently come with his cavalry to the assistance of the Carthaginians, he had crossed over into Spain; forbidden by Masinissa on account of his age, he had never before gone into battle. On the day they had fought with the Romans, without his uncle's knowledge, he said, he had secretly taken arms and a horse and gone out into the battle-line; there, thrown headforemost by a fall of his horse, he had been captured by the Romans. Scipio, after ordering that the Numidian should be guarded, completed such duties as he had to perform from the platform; and then, having returned to headquarters, summoned him and asked whether he would like to return to Masinissa. When he shed tears of joy and said that he was indeed eager to do so, Scipio thereupon presented the boy with a gold ring, a tunic with a broad stripe, and a Spanish cloak, a golden brooch and a horse with his equipment; and ordering horsemen to escort him as far as he desired, Scipio sent him away.

XX. Then a council was held on the conduct of the war. And when some advised him to overtake Hasdrubal at once, Scipio thought that a dangerous course, for fear lest Mago and the other Hasdrubal<sup>1</sup> should join forces with him. He therefore merely sent a force to occupy the Pyrenees,<sup>2</sup> and himself spent the remainder of the summer in receiving the submission of the peoples of Spain.

A few days after the battle at Baecula, when Scipio, now on his way back to Tarraco, had emerged drubal to escape from Spain. But only a much larger army could have closed the other passes, few as they are.



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nensi excessisset, Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius et Mago imperatores ex ulteriore Hispania ad Hasdrubalem venere, serum post male gestam rem auxilium, consilio in cetera exsequenda<sup>1</sup> belli haud parum  
4 opportuni. Ibi conferentibus quid in cuiusque provinciae<sup>2</sup> regione animorum Hispanis esset, unus Hasdrubal Gisgonis ultimam Hispaniae oram, quae ad Oceanum et Gades vergit, ignaram adhuc Romanorum esse eoque Carthaginiensibus satis fidam  
5 censebat; inter Hasdrubalem alterum et Magonem constabat beneficiis Scipionis occupatos omnium animos publice privatimque esse, nec transitionibus finem ante fore quam omnes Hispani milites aut in ultima Hispaniae amoti aut traducti in Galliam  
6 forent. Itaque etiam si senatus Carthaginiensium non censuisset, eundum tamen Hasdrubali fuisse in Italiam, ubi belli caput rerumque<sup>3</sup> summa esset, simul ut Hispanos omnes procul ab nomine Scipionis  
7 ex Hispania abduceret. Exercitum eius cum transitionibus tum adverso proelio imminutum Hispanis repleri militibus, et Magonem, Hasdrubali Gisgonis filio tradito exercitu, ipsum cum grandi pecunia ad conducenda mercede auxilia in Baliares traicere;  
8 Hasdrubalem Gisgonis cum exercitu penitus in Lusitaniam abire, nec cum Romano manus conserere; Masinissae ex omni equitatu quod roboris esset, tria milia equitum expleri, eumque vagum per

<sup>1</sup> ex(s)equenda P(1)NJK: -sequendi Madvig.<sup>2</sup> provinciae P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben, Johnson: provincia ac Riemann (et Madvig): Conway would delete.<sup>3</sup> rerumque A\*N\*JK: rerum P(1)N: et rerum C<sup>2</sup> Aldus, Froben.<sup>1</sup> The brother of Mago.<sup>2</sup> Cf. v. 12.

from the forest of Castulo, the generals, Hasdrubal<sup>B.C. 209</sup> the son of Gisgo and Mago, came from farther Spain to Hasdrubal, bringing belated aid after the defeat, but not inopportunately for a council on the prosecution of the rest of the war. There, as they were exchanging information concerning the spirit of the Spaniards in the territory assigned to each of them, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was alone of the opinion that the most remote part of Spain, which extends toward the Ocean and Gades, was still unacquainted with the Romans and in consequence sufficiently loyal to the Carthaginians. The other Hasdrubal<sup>1</sup> and Mago agreed that, both as states and as individuals, all men were prepossessed owing to the favours of Scipio; and there would be no end to desertions until all the Spanish soldiers had been either segregated in the farthest part of Spain, or led over into Gaul. And so, they said, even if the Carthaginian senate had not decreed it,<sup>2</sup> Hasdrubal would still have been obliged to proceed into Italy, where was the focus of the war and the main issue, with this purpose also, in order that he might lead all the Spanish troops out of Spain, far removed from the fame of Scipio. They proposed that his army, depleted both by desertions and by defeat, should be recruited with Spanish soldiers; and further, that Mago, after turning over his army to Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should himself cross to the Balearic Isles with a large sum of money, to hire mercenary auxiliaries; that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should retire with his army into the interior of Lusitania and not engage in battle with the Roman; that for Masinissa there should be a full complement of three thousand horsemen, the pick of all the cavalry, and

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citeriorem Hispaniam sociis opem ferre, hostium oppida atque agros populari. His decretis ad exsequenda quae statuerant duces<sup>1</sup> digressi. Haec eo anno in Hispania acta.

- 9 Romae fama Scipionis in dies crescere, Fabio Tarentum captum astu<sup>2</sup> magis quam virtute gloriae  
10 tamen esse, Fulvi senescere fama, Marcellus etiam adverso rumore esse, superquam quod primo male pugnaverant, quia vagante per Italiam Hannibale media aestate Venusiam in tecta milites abduxisset.  
11 Inimicus erat ei C. Publicius Bibulus tribunus plebis. Is iam a prima pugna, quae adversa fuerat, adsiduis contionibus infamem invisumque plebei Claudium  
12 fecerat, et iam de imperio abrogando eius agebat cum tamen necessarii Claudii obtinuerunt ut relicto Venusiae legato Marcellus Romam veniret<sup>3</sup> ad purganda ea quae inimici obicerent,<sup>4</sup> nec de imperio  
13 eius abrogando absente ipso ageretur. Forte sub idem tempus et Marcellus ad deprecandam ignominiam et Q. Fulvius consul comitiorum causa Romam venit.

XXI. Actum de imperio Marcelli in circo Flaminio est ingenti concursu plebisque et omnium ordinum;

<sup>1</sup> duces *A<sup>n</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N Madvig.*

<sup>2</sup> astu *SpA<sup>n</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Froben 2: om. P(3): ingenio AN Aldus: fraude C<sup>4</sup>.*

<sup>3</sup> veniret *SpJK Froben 2: rediret P(1)N Aldus, Madvig, Conway.*

<sup>4</sup> obicerent *A<sup>n</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: decernerent P(1)N: deferrent M. Müller.*

<sup>1</sup> Here again we correct Livy's chronology by Polybius Book X, in which the battle of Baecula falls in 208 B.C., leaving the winter and early spring only for Hasdrubal's stay in Gaul; cf. vii. 5 note. Livy has him remain a whole year among the Gauls, and makes no attempt to explain a delay so incredible.

that, roaming about over hither Spain, he should lend aid to allies and devastate towns and farms of the enemy. Having thus ordered, the generals separated, to carry out the measures decided upon. Such were the events in Spain that year.<sup>1</sup>

At Rome Scipio's fame was growing from day to day; Fabius, although Tarentum had been taken by ruse rather than by courage, nevertheless gained glory thereby; Fulvius' celebrity was declining; Marcellus was even in bad repute, not only because he had at first been defeated, but also because, while Hannibal was wandering about Italy, he had drawn off his troops to their billets at Venusia in mid-summer. He had a personal enemy, Gaius Publicius Bibulus, tribune of the plebs. This man, beginning with the first battle, which had been unsuccessful, by continually haranguing had defamed Claudius to the common people and made them hate him, and by this time he was arguing for the abrogation of his command when the relatives of Claudius nevertheless carried their point that Marcellus should leave a lieutenant at Venusia and come to Rome, to clear himself of the charges which his enemies were making, and that the abrogation of his command should not be discussed while he himself was absent. By chance Marcellus came to Rome to avert disgrace, about the same time that Quintus Fulvius, the consul, arrived to conduct the elections.

XXI. The argument in regard to Marcellus' command was staged in the Flaminian Circus,<sup>2</sup> before a great assemblage of the commons and of all classes.

<sup>2</sup> For the use of the Flaminian Circus at times for assemblies see Cicero *pro Sestio* 33; *ad Att.* I. xiv. 1. Plutarch in *Marcellus* xxvii. is following Livy, as often.

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- 2 accusavitque<sup>1</sup> tribunus plebis non Marcellum modo, sed omnem nobilitatem: fraude eorum et cunctatione fieri ut Hannibal decimum iam annum Italiam provinciam habeat, diutius ibi quam Carthagine vixerit.
- 3 Habere fructum imperii prorogati Marcello populum Romanum: bis caesum exercitum eius aestiva
- 4 Venusiae sub tectis agere. Hanc tribuni orationem ita obruit Marcellus commemoratione rerum suarum ut non rogatio solum de imperio eius abrogando antiquaretur, sed postero die consulem eum ingenti
- 5 consensu centuriae omnes crearent. Additur conlega T. Quinctius Crispinus, qui tum praetor erat. Postero die praetores creati P. Licinius Crassus Dives pontifex maximus, P. Licinius Varus, Sex. Iulius Caesar, Q. Claudius.<sup>2</sup>
- 6 Comitiorum ipsorum diebus sollicita civitas de Etruriae defectione fuit. Principium eius rei ab Arretinis fieri C. Calpurnius scripserat, qui cam
- 7 provinciam pro praetore obtinebat. Itaque<sup>3</sup> confestim eo missus Marcellus consul designatus, qui rem inspiceret ac, si digna videretur, exercitu accito bellum ex Apulia in Etruriam transferret. Eo
- 8 metu compressi Etrusci quieverunt. Tarentinorum legatis pacem petentibus cum libertate ac legibus suis responsum ab senatu est ut redirent, cum Fabius consul Romam venisset.
- 9 Ludi et Romani et plebei eo anno in<sup>4</sup> singulos

<sup>1</sup> -que P(1)NJK Aldus: om. Sp Froben 2, Conway.

<sup>2</sup> Claudius P(1)NJK: Claudius Flamen Froben 2 (Flaminius x Aldus); cf. p. 300, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Itaque Aldus, Froben: aequ PRM: atque N(3): ita JK.

<sup>4</sup> in P\*(3)R\*NJK Aldus: sin PR: om. Froben 2, Riemann, Luchs.

And the tribune of the plebs accused not Marcellus merely, but the entire nobility. It was due to their dishonesty and delaying, he said, that Hannibal had Italy as his province for now the tenth year, and had lived longer there than at Carthage. The Roman people had this fruit from the continuation of Marcellus' command, namely, that his army, twice cut to pieces, had its summer quarters at Venusia in billets! This speech of the tribune was so completely refuted by Marcellus' statement of his achievements that not only was the bill to abrogate his command rejected, but on the following day all the centuries with great unanimity elected him consul. Joined with him as colleague was Titus Quinctius Crispinus, who at the time was praetor. On the following day Publius Licinius Crassus Dives, pontifex maximus, Publius Licinius Varus, Sextus Iulius Caesar and Quintus Claudius were elected praetors.

Precisely on these election days the state was concerned in regard to a revolt in Etruria. First steps in that direction were reported in a letter of Gaius Calpurnius, propaetor in charge of the assignment, as being taken by the men of Arretium. Accordingly Marcellus, the consul-elect, was at once sent thither to look into the matter and, if he thought it important enough, to send for an army and shift the war from Apulia to Etruria. The Etruscans, restrained by the fear of that move, kept quiet. When legates of the Tarentines sued for peace with freedom and their own laws, the senate answered that they should return when Fabius, the consul, came to Rome.

The Roman Games and the Plebeian Games were repeated that year for one day in each case. The

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dies instaurati. Aediles curules fuere L. Cornelius Caudinus et Ser. Sulpicius Galba, plebei C. Servilius 10 et Q. Caecilius Metellus.<sup>1</sup> Servilium negabant iure aut tribunum plebis fuisse aut aedilem esse, quod patrem eius, quem triumvirum agrarium occisum a Boiis circa Mutinam esse opinio per novem<sup>2</sup> annos fuerat, vivere atque in hostium potestate esse satis constabat.

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XXII. Undecimo anno Punici belli consulatum inierunt M. Marcellus quintum—ut numeretur consulatus quem vitio creatus non gessit—et T. Quinctius 2 Crispinus. Utrisque consulibus<sup>3</sup> Italia decreta provincia est et duo consulum prioris anni exercitus—tertius Venusiae tum erat, cui Marcellus praefuerat—ita ut ex tribus eligerent duo quos vellent, tertius ei traderetur cui Tarentum et Sallentini provincia 3 evenisset. Ceterae provinciae ita divisae: praetoribus P. Licinio Varo urbana, P. Licinio<sup>4</sup> Crasso pontifici maximo peregrina et quo senatus censuisset, Sex. Iulio Caesari Sicilia, Q. Claudio<sup>5</sup> Tarentum. 4 Prorogatum in annum imperium<sup>6</sup> est Q. Fulvio

<sup>1</sup> et Q. Caecilius Metellus *A<sup>n</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, one line.*

<sup>2</sup> novem *C Conway: nexem P(3): decem ANJK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>3</sup> Utrisque consulibus *P(1)N Aldus: utrique consulum Sp?JK Froben 2.*

<sup>4</sup> Varo . . . Licinio: *an omitted line in P(1)N: supplied by A<sup>n</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>5</sup> Claudio, *P(3) Froben 2 add Flamini: M<sup>a</sup>ANJK Aldus add Flamini; cf. p. 298, n. 2.*

<sup>6</sup> in annum imperium *JK Luchs: imperium in annum P(1)N Aldus, Froben.*

curule aediles were Lucius Cornelius Caudinus and Servius Sulpicius Galba, the plebeian aediles being Gaius Servilius and Quintus Caecilius Metellus. It was said that legally Servilius had not been tribune of the plebs, nor was he now legally aedile, because his father, of whom it had been believed for nine years that he was slain as one of the three land-commissioners by the Boii near Mutina, was alive, it was now established, and in the hands of the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

XXII. In the eleventh year of the Punic War the consuls entering office were Marcellus, for the fifth time—to include the consulship which he had not held on account of a defective election<sup>2</sup>—and Titus Quinctius Crispinus. Italy was assigned as their province to both consuls, also the two armies of the consuls of the previous year. A third, hitherto commanded by Marcellus, was then at Venusia. The decree ordered that of the three they should choose two of their own selection, and that the third be given to the general whose assignment should be Tarentum and the Sallentini. The rest of the assignments were distributed as follows: for the praetors, jurisdiction in the city to Publius Licinius Varus, that involving strangers to Publius Licinius Crassus, pontifex maximus, with a command wherever the senate should decide; Sicily to Sextus Iulius Caesar and Tarentum to Quintus Claudius. Continued for one year was the command of Quintus Fulvius Flaccus; B.C. 208

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXI. xxv. 3. So long as a patrician father lived and had not sanctioned a son's transfer to a plebeian *gens*, the son's election to plebeian offices was accounted void; cf. XXX. xix. 9; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* I<sup>3</sup>. 487 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXIII. xxxi. 13.

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- Flacco, ut provinciam Capuam, quae T. Quincti  
 5 praetoris fuerat, cum una legione obtineret. Pro-  
 rogatum et C. Hostilio Tubulo est, ut pro praetore  
 in Etruriam ad duas legiones succederet C. Calpurnio.  
 Prorogatum et L. Veturio Philoni est, ut pro praetore  
 Galliam eandem provinciam cum isdem duabus  
 legionibus obtineret quibus praetor obtinisset.  
 6 Quod in L. Veturio, idem in C. Aurunculeio decre-  
 tum ab senatu, latumque de prorogando imperio  
 ad populum est, qui praetor Sardiniam provinciam  
 cum duabus legionibus obtinuerat. Additae ei ad  
 praesidium provinciae quinquaginta longae<sup>1</sup> naves  
 7 quas P. Scipio ex Hispania misisset. Et P. Scipioni  
 et M. Silano suae Hispaniae suique exercitus in  
 annum decreti. Scipio ex octoginta navibus quas  
 aut secum ex Italia adductas aut captas Carthagine  
 habebat quinquaginta in Sardiniam transmittere  
 8 iussus, quia fama erat magnum navalem apparatus  
 eo anno Carthagine esse, ducentis navibus omnem  
 oram Italiae Siciliaeque ac<sup>2</sup> Sardiniae inpleturos.  
 9 Et in Sicilia ita divisa res est: Sex. Caesari exercitus  
 Cannensis datus est; M. Valerius Laevinus—ei  
 quoque enim prorogatum imperium est—classem  
 quae ad Siciliam erat navium septuaginta obtineret;  
 adderet eo triginta naves quae ad Tarentum priore  
 anno fuerant; cum ea centum navium classe, si  
 10 videretur ei, praedatum in Africam traiceret. Et

<sup>1</sup> longae *N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.*

<sup>2</sup> -que ac *Sp<sup>o</sup>JK Froben 2: -que (after Sardiniae) P(3)N Aldus.*

<sup>1</sup> Polybius makes his entire fleet number 53 ships (18 captured); X. xvii. 13.

who with one legion was to be in charge of Capua as <sup>B.C. 208</sup> his assignment, formerly held by Titus Quinctius as praetor. Continued also was the command of Gaius Hostilius Tubulus, who was to succeed Gaius Calpurnius as propraeor for Etruria, at the head of two legions. The command of Lucius Veturius Philo was likewise continued, he to hold Gaul as propraeor—the same assignment with the same two legions with which he had held it as praetor. The measure adopted in the case of Lucius Veturius was likewise decreed by the senate in that of Gaius Aurunculeius, and the bill to continue his command was brought before the people. As praetor he had had Sardinia for his province with two legions. In addition he was given for the defence of the province the fifty warships which Publius Scipio had sent from Spain. And to Publius Scipio and Marcus Silanus were decreed for one year their own provinces in Spain and their own armies. Scipio was ordered to send over to Sardinia fifty of the eighty<sup>1</sup> ships which he had either brought with him from Italy or captured at (New) Carthage. This was owing to the report that at Carthage there were great naval preparations that year, and that with two hundred ships the Carthaginians would cover the whole coast of Italy, also of Sicily and Sardinia. In Sicily, moreover, the apportionment was as follows: the army from Cannae was given to Sextus Caesar; Marcus Valerius Laevinus—for his command also was continued—to have the fleet of seventy vessels then in Sicilian waters. To that he should add thirty ships which had been at Tarentum the previous year. With that fleet of a hundred ships, he was, if he saw fit, to cross over to Africa, to ravage the country. Likewise Publius

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- P. Sulpicio, ut eadem classe Macedoniam Graeciamque provinciam haberet, prorogatum in annum imperium est. De duabus quae ad urbem Romam fuerant legionibus nihil mutatum. Supplementum quo opus esset ut <sup>1</sup> scriberent consulibus <sup>2</sup> permissum. Una et viginti legionibus eo anno defensum imperium Romanum est. Et P. Licinio Varo praetori urbano negotium datum ut naves longas triginta veteres reficeret quae Ostiae erant et viginti novas naves sociis navalibus conpleret, ut quinquaginta navium classe oram maris <sup>3</sup> vicinam urbi Romanae tueri posset. C. Calpurnius vetitus ab Arretio movere exercitum, nisi cum successor venisset; idem et Tubulo imperatum, ut inde praecipue caveret ne qua nova consilia orerentur.<sup>4</sup>

XXIII. Praetores in provincias profecti; consules religio tenebat, quod prodigiis aliquot nuntiatis non <sup>2</sup> facile litabant. Et <sup>5</sup> ex Campania nuntiata erant, Capuae duas aedes, Fortunae et Martis, et sepulcra aliquot de caelo tacta, Cumis—adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inserit deos—mures in aede Iovis aurum rosisse, Casini <sup>6</sup> examen apium ingens in <sup>3</sup> foro consedis; et Ostiae murum portamque de

<sup>1</sup> ut *N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben : om. P(1)N.*

<sup>2</sup> consulibus *N<sup>o</sup>JK : consules P(1)N.*

<sup>3</sup> maris *A<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK : magis P(1)N.*

<sup>4</sup> orerentur *Luchs, 1879 : orirentur N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben : caperentur P(1)N Luchs, 1888.*

<sup>5</sup> Et *P(1)N : om. JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>6</sup> Casini *P(1)N<sup>o</sup>J : Casilini K.*

<sup>1</sup> He must have had troops as well; but the legion of vii. 15 is not expressly mentioned.

Sulpicius' command was continued for one year, B.C. 208 and he was to have Macedonia and Greece as his province with the same fleet as before.<sup>1</sup> In regard to the two legions that had been at the city of Rome no change was made. Permission was given to the consuls to recruit additional numbers, to be assigned to meet any need. It was with twenty-one legions that the Roman empire was defended that year. In addition, Publius Licinius Varus, the city praetor, was given the task of repairing the thirty old warships which were at Ostia and of manning twenty new ships with crews, so that with a fleet of fifty ships he might defend the seacoast near the city of Rome.<sup>2</sup> Gaius Calpurnius was forbidden to move his army away from Arretium before the arrival of his successor. The same order was given to Tubulus also, to be particularly on his guard there against the outbreak of any sedition.

XXIII. The praetors set out for their assignments, but the consuls were detained by religious scruples, because, when a number of portents were reported, they did not easily obtain favourable sacrifices. From Campania had come reports that at Capua two temples, those of Fortune and of Mars, and a number of tombs were struck by lightning; that at Cumae mice had gnawed the gold in the temple of Jupiter—so true is it that superstition brings the gods into the smallest circumstances. At Casinum it was said that a great swarm of bees had settled in the forum.<sup>3</sup> It was also reported that at Ostia the wall and a gate

<sup>1</sup> Thus even the city praetor has an emergency command.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXIV. x. 11 (Rome, Forum); XXI. xvi. 2 (in camp, over the headquarters). Casinum was not in Campania, but on the way thither (Via Latina).

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caelo tactam, Caere vulturium volasse in aedem  
4 Iovis, Volsiniis sanguine lacum manasse. Horum  
prodigiorum causa diem unum supplicatio fuit.  
Per dies aliquot hostiae maiores sine litatione caesae,  
diuque non impetrata pax deum. In capita consulum  
re publica incolumi exitiabilis prodigiorum eventus  
vertit.

5 Ludi Apollinares Q. Fulvio Ap. Claudio consulibus  
a P.<sup>1</sup> Cornelio Sulla praetore urbano primum facti  
erant; inde omnes deinceps praetores urbani fecerant;  
sed in unum annum vovebant dieque incerta<sup>2</sup>  
6 faciebant. Eo anno pestilentia gravis incidit in<sup>3</sup>  
urbem agrosque, quae tamen magis in longos morbos  
7 quam in perniciosos<sup>4</sup> evasit. Eius pestilentiae  
causa et supplicatum per compita tota urbe est, et  
P. Licinius Varus praetor urbanus legem ferre ad  
populum iussus ut ii ludi in perpetuum in statam  
diem voverentur. Ipse primus ita vovit, fecitque  
ante diem tertium nonas<sup>5</sup> Quinctiles. Is dies  
deinde sollemnis servatus.

XXIV. De Arretinis et fama in dies gravior et  
cura crescere patribus. Itaque C. Hostilio scriptum

<sup>1</sup> Claudio consulibus a P. *z Aldus, Froben 2: om. P(1)NJK, a line following Ap.*

<sup>2</sup> incerta *JK Froben 2: incerto P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>3</sup> in *P(1)N: per Sp Froben 2.*

<sup>4</sup> perniciosos(-is) *CBDA Madvig, Luchs: -iales N\*JK Aldus, Froben 2: peritiales Sp Conway: -abilis PRM.*

<sup>5</sup> nonas *P(1)NSp?JK: idus Merkel.*

<sup>1</sup> The Lake of Bolsena.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* 212 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> A decree of the senate in 211 B.C. (XXVI. xxiii. 3) seems not to have been carried out.

<sup>4</sup> A slip, as Livy himself in giving the time of the festival in XXXVII. iv. 4 reckons from the Ides, not from the Nones.

of the city had been struck by lightning, that at Caere B.C. 208  
a vulture had flown into the temple of Jupiter, that at  
Volsinii the lake<sup>1</sup> was stained with blood. On account  
of these prodigies prayers were offered for one day.  
For several days full-grown victims were slain without  
a favourable result, and for a long time the peace of  
the gods was not secured. It was upon the heads of  
the consuls that dire consequences of the portents  
descended, while the state remained unharmed.

The Games of Apollo had been observed for the first  
time in the consulship of Quintus Fulvius and Appius  
Claudius,<sup>2</sup> under the direction of Publius Cornelius  
Sulla, the city praetor. From that time all the  
successive city praetors had conducted them. But  
they vowed them for a single year and did not con-  
duct them on a fixed date. That year a serious  
epidemic fell upon the city and the countryside,  
occasioning maladies, however, that were rather  
lingering than fatal. On account of that epidemic  
prayers were offered at the street corners throughout  
the city; and in addition Publius Licinius Varus, the  
city praetor, was ordered to propose to the people a  
bill that those games should be vowed in perpetuity  
for a fixed date.<sup>3</sup> He himself was the first to vow  
them in those terms, and he conducted them on the  
fifth<sup>4</sup> of Quinctilis.<sup>5</sup> Thenceforward that day was  
kept as a regular holiday.

XXIV. As regards the Arretines, reports grew  
more serious every day, and the anxiety of the  
senators was increased. Accordingly Gaius Hostilius

Thus the corrected date is the 13th of the month by our  
reckoning. The extended festival of later times covered the  
days from the 6th through the 13th.

<sup>5</sup> July in Caesar's calendar.

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est ne differret obsides ab Arretinis accipere, et cui traderet Romam deducendos C. Terentius Varro cum imperio missus. Qui ut venit, extemplo Hostilius legionem unam, quae ante urbem castra habebat, signa in urbem ferre iussit praesidiaque locis idoneis disposuit; tum in forum<sup>1</sup> citatis senatoribus obsides<sup>2</sup> imperavit. Cum senatus biduum ad considerandum<sup>3</sup> peteret, aut ipsos extemplo dare aut se postero die senatorum omnes liberos sumpturum edixit. Inde portas custodire iussi tribuni<sup>4</sup> militum praefectique<sup>5</sup> socium et centuriones,<sup>6</sup> ne quis nocte urbe exiret. Id segnius neglegentiusque factum; septem principes senatus, priusquam custodiae in portis locarentur, ante noctem cum liberis evaserunt. Postero die luce prima, cum senatus in forum citari coeptus esset, desiderati, bonaque eorum venierunt. A ceteris senatoribus centum viginti obsides, liberi ipsorum, accepti traditique C. Terentio Romam deducendi. Is omnia suspectiora quam ante fuerant in senatu fecit. Itaque tamquam imminente Etrusco tumultu, legionem unam, alteram ex urbanis, Arretium ducere iussus ipse C. Terentius, eamque habere in praesidio urbis; C. Hostilium cum cetero exercitu placet<sup>7</sup> totam provinciam peragrarere et cavere ne qua occasio

<sup>1</sup> forum *Duker*: foro *P(1)NJK Aldus*.

<sup>2</sup> considerandum, after this *P(1)N Aldus* have tempus (after peteret *JK Froben 2*; om. *Duker*).

<sup>3</sup> iussi tribuni *Gronovius*: iussit tribuni *P(3)N<sup>1</sup>* (tribunos *Sp<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>JK Froben 2*: -nis *M<sup>3</sup>BDAN Aldus*).

<sup>4</sup> praefectique *P(3)N<sup>1</sup>* (-tosque *Sp<sup>1</sup>* etc., as above: -tisque *M<sup>3</sup>* etc., as above).

<sup>5</sup> centuriones *P(3)A<sup>1</sup>JKSp<sup>1</sup> Froben 2*: -ibus *M<sup>3</sup>BDAN*.

<sup>6</sup> placet *P(1)N*: -uit *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK*.

received written orders not to postpone taking B.C. 208 hostages from the Arretines, and Gaius Terentius Varro was sent with military authority, that Hostilius might turn them over to him to be escorted to Rome. Upon Varro's arrival Hostilius at once ordered the one legion which was encamped before the city to advance into the city, and he posted his forces in suitable positions. Then, summoning the senate to the forum, he demanded hostages of them. When the senate asked for two days to consider, he ordered that they themselves furnish them forthwith, or else on the next day, he declared, he would take all the children of the senators. Thereupon the tribunes of the soldiers and prefects of allies and centurions were bidden to guard the gates, that no one might leave the city in the night. This was done slowly and with carelessness. Seven leading members of the senate, before guards could be posted at the gates, escaped before nightfall with their children. Next day at dawn they were missed when the senators began to be summoned to the forum, and their property was sold. From the rest of the senators a hundred and twenty hostages, their own children, were taken and handed over to Gaius Terentius Varro to be escorted to Rome. Varro in the senate represented everything as causing more apprehension than before. And so, just as if an outbreak in Etruria were imminent, Gaius Terentius himself was ordered to lead a single legion, one or the other of the city legions, to Arretium and to keep that legion as the garrison of the town. As for Gaius Hostilius, it was decided that with the rest of the army he should scour the whole province and see to it that no opportunity was given to those eager



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8 novare cupientibus res daretur. C. Terentius ut Arretium cum legione venit, claves portarum cum magistratus poposcisset, negantibus iis comparere, fraude amotas magis ratus quam negligentia intercidisse, ipse alias claves omnibus portis imposuit, cavitque cum cura<sup>1</sup> ut omnia in potestate sua essent; 9 Hostilium intentius monuit ut in eo spem non moturos quicquam Etruscos poneret, si ne quid movere possent<sup>2</sup> praecavisset.

XXV. De Tarentinis inde magna contentione in senatu actum coram Fabio, defendente ipso quos ceperat armis, aliis infensis et plerisque aequantibus 2 eos Campanorum noxae poenaeque. Senatus consultum in sententiam M'. Acili factum est ut oppidum praesidio custodiretur, Tarentinique omnes intra moenia containerentur, res integra postea referretur, 3 cum tranquillior status Italiae esset. Et de M. Livio praefecto arcis Tarentinae haud minore certamine actum est, aliis senatus consulto notantibus praefectum, quod eius socordia Tarentum proditum hosti 4 esset, aliis praemia decernentibus, quod per quinquennium arcem tutatus esset, maximeque unius 5 eius opera receptum Tarentum foret, mediis ad censores, non ad senatum notionem de eo pertinere dicentibus; cuius sententiae et Fabius fuit. Adiecit

<sup>1</sup> cum cura *P(1)N Aldus: om. SpJK Froben 2.*

<sup>2</sup> movere possent *A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: moveri posset P(1)N (omitting prae- with the next word).*

<sup>1</sup> As at Capua, the citizens were to be treated as political prisoners; XXVI. xxvii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Livius had been drinking, according to Polybius VIII. xxvii.

for a revolution. Upon the arrival of Gaius Terentius at Arretium with his legion, when he demanded of the magistrates the keys of the gates, and they said they were not to be found, thinking they were removed by stealth and not really missing through carelessness, he himself provided other keys for all the gates, and took great pains to have everything under his own control. He very earnestly warned Hostilius to rest his hope that the Etruscans would not make any move upon one thing—that he had first made it impossible for them to do so.

XXV. Then in regard to the Tarentines there was very heated discussion in the senate in the presence of Fabius, who himself defended the men whom he had captured by force, whereas others were hostile and many put them upon the same level of guilt and punishment as the Capuans. A decree of the senate was adopted on motion of Manius Acilius, that the town should be guarded by a garrison and all the Tarentines confined within the walls;<sup>1</sup> that, with no action now, the case should be brought up later, when the condition of Italy was more peaceful. Also in regard to Marcus Livius, commandant of the citadel of Tarentum, there was no less heated discussion. For some were proposing to brand the commandant by a decree of the senate, because by his lack of spirit Tarentum had been betrayed to the enemy,<sup>2</sup> and others proposed to vote him rewards, because he had defended the citadel for five years, and it was thanks to him more than to anyone else that Tarentum had been recovered. Those who preferred a middle course claimed that a hearing of his case belonged to the censors, not to the senate. Of this mind was Fabius also. He added, however,

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tamen fateri se opera Livi Tarentum receptum, quod amici eius volgo in senatu iactassent; neque enim recipiundum fuisse, nisi amissum foret.

- 6 Consulum<sup>1</sup> alter T. Quinctius Crispinus ad exercitum quem Q. Fulvius Flaccus habuerat cum supplemento in Lucanos est profectus. Marcellum aliae atque aliae obiectae animo religiones tenebant, in quibus quod, cum bello Gallico ad Clastidium aedem Honori et Virtuti vovisset, dedicatio eius a pontificibus impediabatur, quod negabant unam cellam amplius quam uni deo<sup>2</sup> recte dedicari, quia, si de caelo tacta aut prodigii aliquid in ea factum esset, 9 difficilis procuratio foret, quod utri deo res divina fieret, sciri non posset; neque enim duobus nisi certis deis rite una hostia fieri. Ita addita Virtutis aedes adproperato opere; neque tamen ab ipso aedes eae 10 dedicatae sunt. Tum demum ad exercitum quem priore anno Venusiae reliquerat cum supplemento proficiscitur.
- 11 Locros in Brutiis Crispinus oppugnare conatus, quia magnam famam attulisse Fabio Tarentum rebatur,<sup>3</sup> omne genus tormentorum machinarumque ex Sicilia arcessierat; et naves indidem accitae erant

<sup>1</sup> Consulum *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: consul *JK*.

<sup>2</sup> amplius quam uni deo *SpA·N·JK Froben* 2: duobus *P(1)N Aldus*: duobus diis *Weissenborn*.

<sup>3</sup> rebatur *PCR*: ferebatur *R(3)NJK Aldus, Froben*.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero *Cato Maior* 11, Certe, nam nisi tu amississes, numquam recepissem; *de Oratore*, II. 273; Plutarch, *Fabius* xxiii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 222 B.C., in his first consulship.

<sup>3</sup> Doubtless those specified in the books of the pontiffs as divinities who might be so paired together. Cf. Valerius Maximus I. i. 8.

his admission that the recovery of Tarentum was due to Livius, as his friends had repeatedly declared in the senate; for it would not have had to be recovered unless it had been lost.<sup>1</sup>

Of the consuls one, Titus Quinctius Crispinus, set out for Lucania with additional recruits to join the army which Quintus Fulvius Flaccus had held. Marcellus was detained by religious scruples one after another, as they were impressed upon his mind. One of them was that, although he had vowed at Clastidium, in the Gallic War,<sup>2</sup> a temple to Honour and Valour, the dedication of the temple was being blocked by the pontiffs. These said that one cella was not properly dedicated to more than a single divinity, since, if it should be struck by lightning, or some portent should occur in it, expiation would be difficult, because it could not be known to which god sacrifice should be offered; for, with the exception of certain deities,<sup>3</sup> sacrifice of a single victim to two gods was not proper. Accordingly a temple of Valour was added, its construction being hastened. Even so the temples were not dedicated by Marcellus in person.<sup>4</sup> Then at last he set out with additional recruits to join the army which he had left at Venusia the previous year.

Crispinus attempted to besiege Locri<sup>5</sup> in the land of the Bruttii, because he thought that Tarentum had brought great repute to Fabius; and he had requisitioned artillery and machines of every kind from Sicily. And from the same quarter ships also

<sup>4</sup> For these temples outside the Porta Capena and their dedication by his son, see Vol. VI. p. 494, note; Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* II. 61; *in Verr.* IV. 121; Val. Max. *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. XXIV. i.-iii.

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- quae vergentem ad mare partem urbis oppugnarent.  
 12 Ea omnia oppugnatio est, quia Lacinium Hannibal  
 admoverat copias, et conlegam eduxisse iam a  
 Venusia exercitum fama erat, cui coniungi volebat.  
 13 Itaque in Apuliam ex Brutiis reditum, et inter  
 Venusiam Bantiamque minus trium milium passuum  
 14 intervallo consules binis castris consederunt.<sup>1</sup> In  
 eandem regionem et Hannibal rediit<sup>2</sup> averso ab  
 Locris bello. Ibi consules ambo ingenio feroces  
 prope cotidie in aciem exire<sup>3</sup> haud dubia spe, si  
 duobus exercitibus consularibus iunctis commisisset  
 sese hostis, debellari posse.

XXVI. Hannibal quia cum Marcello bis priore  
 anno congressus vicerat victusque erat, ut, cum  
 eodem si dimicandum foret, nec spem nec metum  
 ex vano habere,<sup>4</sup> ita duobus consulibus haudquaquam  
 2 sese parem futurum credebat.<sup>5</sup> Itaque totus in suas  
 3 artes versus insidiis locum quaerebat. Levia tamen  
 proelia inter bina castra vario eventu fiebant; quibus  
 cum extrahi aestatem posse consules crederent, nihilo  
 minus oppugnari Locros posse rati, L. Cincio ut ex  
 4 Sicilia Locros cum classe traiceret scribunt. Et  
 ut ab terra quoque oppugnari moenia possent, ab  
 Tarento partem exercitus qui<sup>6</sup> in praesidio erat duci

<sup>1</sup> consederunt *A?JK Madvig*: -rant *P(3)M<sup>1</sup>N Aldus, Froben, Conway*: -siderant *R<sup>1</sup>MBD*.

<sup>2</sup> rediit *P(3)B<sup>1</sup>N*: redit *JK*.

<sup>3</sup> in aciem exire *x Gronovius*: in acieheare *P*: milites in aciem excire (-ciere) *A?JK Aldus, Froben* (exire *N<sup>1</sup>*): in acie heare *CRMBD*: in acie stare *Weissenborn*.

<sup>4</sup> habere *Harant, Riemann, Conway* (in note): haberet *P(1)NJK Eds., Johnson*: habebat *Gronovius*.

<sup>5</sup> credebat *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: censebat *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Conway*.

<sup>6</sup> qui *x Sigonius*: quae *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben*: qui ibi *Weissenborn*.

had been sent for, to attack the part of the city B.C. 208  
 facing the sea. That siege was given up, because  
 Hannibal had brought up his forces to Lacinium,<sup>1</sup>  
 and the consul wished to unite with his colleague,  
 who, it was reported, had already led his army away  
 from Venusia. And so he returned from the land of  
 the Bruttii into Apulia, and the consuls established  
 themselves between Venusia and Bantia in two  
 camps less than three miles apart. Hannibal also,  
 now that the war had been diverted from Locri,  
 returned into the same region. There both consuls,  
 who were by nature high-spirited, went out into  
 battle-line almost daily, with no uncertain hope that,  
 if the enemy should risk a battle with two united  
 consular armies, the war could be finished.

XXVI. Hannibal, since in his two encounters with  
 Marcellus in the previous year he had been both  
 victor and vanquished, believed indeed that, if he  
 should have to fight with the same general, he  
 would find neither hope nor fear unfounded; never-  
 theless he believed that he would be by no means a  
 match for the two consuls. Accordingly, devoting  
 himself exclusively to his own arts, he was in search  
 of a place for an ambush. Slight engagements, how-  
 ever, were taking place in the space between the two  
 camps with varying results. The consuls, believing  
 that the whole summer could be spent in that way,  
 and yet thinking it possible to besiege Locri, wrote to  
 Lucius Cincius to cross over from Sicily with his fleet  
 to Locri. And, to make an attack upon the walls  
 possible from the landward side also, they ordered that  
 a part of the force which was serving as a garrison

<sup>1</sup> For promontory and temple cf. Vol. VI. p. 182, note;  
 XXXVI. xlii. 2.

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- 5 eo iusserunt. Ea ita futura per quosdam Thurinos  
conperta Hannibali cum essent, mittit ad insidendam  
ab Tarento viam. Ibi sub tumultu Peteliae tria  
6 milia equitum, duo peditum in occulto locata; in  
quae inexplorato euntes Romani cum incidissent, ad  
duo milia armatorum caesa, mille et quingenti ferme  
vivi capti, alii dissipati fuga per agros saltusque  
Tarentum rediere.
- 7 Tumulus erat silvestris inter Punica et Romana  
castra, ab neutris primo occupatus, quia Romani  
qualis pars eius quae vergeret ad <sup>1</sup> hostium castra  
esset ignorabant, Hannibal insidiis quam castris  
8 aptiorem eum crediderat. Itaque nocte ad id missas  
aliquot Numidarum turmas medio in saltu condiderat,  
quorum interdiu nemo ab statione movebatur, ne aut  
9 arma aut ipsi procul conspicerentur. Fremebant  
volgo in castris Romanis occupandum eum tumulum  
esse et castello firmandum, ne, si occupatus ab  
Hannibale foret, velut in cervicibus haberent hostem.
- 10 Movit ea res Marcellum, et conlegae "Quin imus"  
inquit "ipsi cum equitibus paucis exploratum?  
Subiecta res oculis nostris <sup>2</sup> certius dabit consilium."
- 11 Adsistenti <sup>3</sup> Crispino, cum equitibus ducentis

<sup>1</sup> ad *P(1)N Aldus*: in *JK Froben 2*.<sup>2</sup> nostris *P(1)N Aldus*: om. *JKSp Froben 2, Conway*.<sup>3</sup> Adsistenti *Luchs, Conway*: -ente *Sp?JK Froben 2*: consentienti *P(1)N Aldus*. Cf. adsistenti in *abl. abs. XXXVI. xxxii. 9*.<sup>1</sup> The town crowned a hill 1,100 feet high, and could be reduced only by starvation in 216 B.C.; cf. *XXIII. xx. 4 ff.*; *xxx. 1 ff.*

should be brought from Tarentum to Locri. Hannibal, being informed by some men of Thurii that this was about to be done, sent men to lie in wait along the road from Tarentum. There, beneath the hill of Petelia,<sup>1</sup> three thousand horsemen and two thousand foot were posted in hiding. When the Romans, as they advanced without reconnoitring, encountered this force, about two thousand of their armed men were slain, about fifteen hundred taken alive. The rest, scattering in flight over the farms and through the woods, returned to Tarentum.

Between the Carthaginian and the Roman camps <sup>2</sup> there was a wooded hill, at first not occupied by either army, because the Romans did not know what was the character of that side of it which faced the enemy's camp, and Hannibal had believed it better suited to an ambushade than to a camp. And so, sending by night a number of squadrons of the Numidians for that purpose, he had concealed them in the middle of the wood. And during the day none of them would stir from his post, for fear lest either their arms or the men themselves should be seen from a distance. In the Roman camp <sup>3</sup> there was a general outcry that the hill must be occupied and defended by a fort, in order that they might not have the enemy, as it were, upon their necks, if the hill should be occupied by Hannibal. That roused Marcellus, and he said to his colleague, "Why not go ourselves with a few horsemen to reconnoitre? Seeing the situation before our eyes will give us a surer judgment." As Crispinus assented, they set out with two

<sup>1</sup> For the scene we revert to the region of Venusia; cf. *xxv. 13*; *xxviii. 5*; Plutarch, *Marcellus xxix. 1*.<sup>2</sup> Evidently that of Marcellus.

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- viginti, ex quibus quadraginta Fregellani, ceteri  
 12 Etrusci erant, proficiscuntur; secuti tribuni militum  
 M. Marcellus consulis filius et A. Manlius, simul et  
 duo praefecti socium L. Arrenius et M'. Aulius.  
 13 Immolasse eo die quidam prodidere memoriae<sup>1</sup> consulem Marcellum, et prima hostia caesa iocur sine  
 14 capite inventum, in secunda omnia conparuisse quae  
 adsolent, auctum etiam visum in capite; nec id  
 sane haruspici placuisse quod secundum trunca et  
 turpia exta nimis laeta apparuissent. XXVII. Ceterum consulem Marcellum tanta cupiditas tenebat  
 dimicandi cum Hannibale ut numquam satis castra  
 2 castris conlata diceret.<sup>2</sup> Tum quoque vallo egrediens  
 signum dedit ut ad locum miles esset paratus, ut, si  
 collis in quem speculatum irent placuisset, vasa  
 colligerent ac<sup>3</sup> sequerentur.  
 3 Exiguum campi ante castra erat; inde in collem  
 aperta undique et conspecta ferebat via. Numidis  
 speculator, nequaquam in spem tantae rei positus,  
 sed si quos vagos pabuli aut lignorum causa longius  
 a castris progressos possent excipere, signum dat  
 ut pariter ab suis quisque latebris<sup>4</sup> exorerentur.  
 4 Non ante apparuere quibus obviis ab iugo ipso con-  
 surgendum erat quam circumiere qui ab tergo inter-  
 cluderent viam. Tum undique omnes exorti, et

<sup>1</sup> memoriae, *JK Froben 2 have it before prodidere.*

<sup>2</sup> diceret *SpA JK Froben 2: crederet P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>3</sup> ac *JK Aldus, Froben: et P(3)N.*

<sup>4</sup> ab (or a) suis quisque latebris *A N JK Aldus, Froben: ab utrisque lateribus P(1)N.*

<sup>1</sup> Polybius' briefer account makes their escort two troops of cavalry, about 30 light-armed infantry and the lictors (who would be 24 in number); X. xxxii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> So Plutarch also, at greater length; *Marcellus* xxix. 5.

hundred and twenty horsemen, of whom forty were from Fregellae, the rest Etruscans.<sup>1</sup> The tribunes of the soldiers, Marcus Marcellus, son of the consul, and Aulus Manlius, followed them, along with two prefects of the allies, Lucius Arrenius and Manius Aulius. Some have related that the consul Marcellus offered a sacrifice that day, and that when the first victim was slain, the liver was found headless; that in the second everything usually found was present; that the head seemed even enlarged; also that the soothsayer had not been at all pleased that, after organs defective and deformed, others had appeared which were more than promising.<sup>2</sup> XXVII. But such eagerness to fight with Hannibal possessed the consul Marcellus that he said the camps were never close enough together. At this time also, as he came out from the earthwork, he gave the command that the soldiers should be ready and in place, so that, in case the hill which they were on their way to reconnoitre proved satisfactory, they might gather up their baggage and follow.

There was only a small level space before the camps; then a road open and visible from every side led up the hill. As for the Numidians, a scout who had been posted not at all in the hope of so important a result, but in case they might be able to capture any men who, in wandering about in search of fodder or firewood, had gone too far from camp, gave the signal to spring up, all of them at the same time, from their different hiding-places. Those who, facing the enemy, had to rise up from the hillside itself, did not show themselves before those who were to cut off the road in the rear turned the enemy's flanks. Then they all sprang up from every side and, raising a

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5 clamore sublato impetum fecere. Cum in ea valle  
 consules essent ut neque evadere possent<sup>1</sup> in iugum  
 occupatum ab hoste nec receptum ab tergo circum-  
 venti haberent, extrahi tamen diutius certamen  
 potuisset, ni coepta ab Etruscis fuga pavorem ceteris  
 6 inieciisset. Non tamen omisere pugnam deserti ab  
 Etruscis Fregellani, donec integri consules hortando  
 7 ipsique ex parte pugnando rem sustinebant; sed  
 postquam vulneratos ambo consules, Marcellum etiam  
 transfixum lancea prolabantem ex equo moribundum  
 videre, tum et ipsi—perpauci autem supererant—  
 cum Crispino consule duobus iaculis icto et Marcello  
 8 adolescente saucio et ipso effugerunt. Interfectus A.  
 Manlius tribunus militum, et ex duobus praefectis  
 socium M'. Aulius occisus, L. Arrenius captus; et  
 lictores consulum quinque vivi in hostium potestatem  
 venerunt, ceteri aut interfecti aut cum consule effu-  
 9 gerunt. Equitum<sup>2</sup> tres et quadraginta aut in proelio  
 aut in fuga ceciderunt, duodeviginti vivi capti.  
 10 Tumultuatum in<sup>3</sup> castris fuerat, ut consulibus irent  
 subsidio, cum consulem et filium alterius consulis  
 saucios exiguasque infelicis expeditionis reliquias  
 11 ad castra venientes cernunt. Mors Marcelli cum  
 alioqui miserabilis fuit, tum quod nec pro aetate—  
 iam enim maior sexaginta annis erat—neque pro  
 veteris prudentia ducis tam inprovidae se conlegamque  
 et prope totam rem publicam in praeceptis dederat.

<sup>1</sup> evadere possent *P(1)N Aldus*: evaderent *SpJK Froben 2*.

<sup>2</sup> Equitum *P(1)N Aldus*: equites *SpA·N·J Froben 2*.

<sup>3</sup> in, *SpN·JK Froben 2*, *Conway add et before in*.

<sup>1</sup> Polybius enlarges upon Marcellus' indefensible temerity and contrasts Hannibal's prudent care of his personal safety; X. xxxii. f.; cf. Plutarch *Pelopidas and Marcellus* iii. 3 f.

shout, they attacked. Although the consuls were in such a depression that they neither could make their way up on to the ridge occupied by the enemy, nor had any retreat open, being enclosed in the rear, still the combat might possibly have been prolonged, had not flight begun by the Etruscans inspired alarm in the others. Nevertheless the men of Fregellae, deserted by the Etruscans, did not give up the battle, so long as the unwounded consuls withstood the attack, encouraging their men and themselves taking part in the fight. But after they saw both consuls wounded, Marcellus even pierced by a lance and slipping from his horse, a dying man, then they likewise—now only a very few were left—fled with Crispinus, the consul, who had been struck by two javelins, and Marcellus the younger, also wounded. Aulus Manlius, tribune of the soldiers, was slain, and of the two prefects of the allies Manius Aulius was killed, Lucius Arrenius captured. And five of the consuls' lictors came alive into the hands of the enemy; the rest were either slain or they escaped with the consul. Of the horse forty-three fell either in battle or in flight, eighteen were captured alive. In the camps there had been an uproar, a clamour that they should go to the relief of the consuls, when now they saw the consul and the son of the other consul both wounded, and the little remnant of the unlucky enterprise coming towards the camps. Marcellus' death was pitiable both for other reasons and also because it was neither consistent with his age—for he was now more than sixty years old—nor with his foresight as a veteran commander, that with such imprudence he had carried himself and his colleague and almost the entire state over the brink.<sup>1</sup>

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12 Multos circa unam rem ambitus fecerim, si quae  
de Marcelli morte variant auctores omnia exsequi  
13 velim. Ut omittam alios, Coelius triplicem gestae rei  
commemorationem<sup>1</sup> ordine<sup>2</sup> edit: unam traditam  
fama, alteram scriptam in<sup>3</sup> laudatione fili, qui rei  
gestae interfuerit, tertiam quam ipse pro inquisita  
14 ac sibi conperta adfert. Ceterum ita fama variat ut  
tamen plerique loci speculandi causa castris egressum,  
omnes insidiis circumventum tradant.

XXVIII. Hannibal magnum terrorem hostibus  
morte consulis unius, vulnere alterius iniectum esse  
ratus, ne cui deesset occasione, castra in tumultum in  
quo pugnatum erat extemplo transfert. Ibi inven-  
2 tum Marcelli corpus sepelit. Crispinus et morte  
conlegae et suo vulnere territus, silentio insequentis  
noctis profectus, quos proximos nactus est montes,  
3 in iis loco alto et tuto undique castra posuit. Ibi  
duo duces sagaciter moti sunt, alter ad inferendam,  
4 alter ad cavendam<sup>4</sup> fraudem. Anulis<sup>5</sup> Marcelli  
simul cum corpore Hannibal potitus erat. Eius  
signi errore ne qui<sup>6</sup> dolus necteretur a Poeno me-  
tuens, Crispinus circa civitates proximas miserat  
nuntios occisum conlegam esse anulisque eius hostem

<sup>1</sup> commemorationem *Conway conj.*: om. *MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> ordine *Conway conj.*: ordinem *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben*:  
seriem *J. Perizonius*: rationem *Weissenborn*: memoriam  
*Luchs.*

<sup>3</sup> in *N*<sup>1</sup>: om. *the rest.*

<sup>4</sup> alter ad cavendam *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)N*,  
*one line.*

<sup>5</sup> Anulis *P(3)A<sup>2</sup>N*: anulo *A<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>6</sup> qui *Sp Froben 2, Conway*: quis *A<sup>2</sup>JK*: cui *P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cicero *Cato Maior* 75; Val. Max. V. i. Ext. 6. For  
different accounts see Plutarch *Marcellus* xxx. 2 ff., with  
incorrect citation of his authorities.

I should be very discursive in regard to a single event, if I should aim to rehearse all the statements in which authorities differ concerning the death of Marcellus. Not to mention others, Coelius furnishes successively a threefold relation of what happened: one the traditional account, a second set down in the eulogy pronounced by the son, who was present, Coelius says, when it happened, a third which he himself contributes as investigated and established by him. But the divergent reports fall within this range, that most authorities relate that he left the camp to reconnoitre a position, while all say that he was overwhelmed by an ambush.

XXVIII. Hannibal, thinking that great terror had been inspired in the enemy by the death of one consul and the wounding of the other, not to miss any opportunity, at once removed his camp to the hill on which they had fought. There Marcellus' body was found and buried.<sup>1</sup> Crispinus, alarmed both by the death of his colleague and by his own wound, set out in the silence of the following night and in the first mountains which he reached pitched camp on a high place that was also safe on every side. There the two generals set their wits to work, the one to employ, the other to guard against, a ruse. Marcellus' ring<sup>2</sup> had come into the hands of Hannibal along with the body. Fearing some trickery might be contrived by the Carthaginian through a fraudulent use of that seal, Crispinus had sent word around to the nearest city-states that his colleague had been slain and the enemy was in possession of his ring;

<sup>1</sup> Livy's probably unique use of the plural where only a single seal ring can be meant has never been satisfactorily explained.

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potitum: ne quibus litteris crederent nomine  
 5 Marcelli compositis. Paulo ante hic nuntius consulis Salapiam venerat quam litterae ab Hannibale allatae sunt Marcelli nomine compositae, se nocte quae diem illum secutura esset Salapiam venturum: parati milites essent qui in praesidio erant, si quo  
 6 opera eorum opus esset. Sensere Salapitani fraudem, et ab ira non defectionis modo sed etiam equitum interfectorum rati occasionem supplicii peti,  
 7 remisso retro nuntio—perfuga autem Romanus erat—ut<sup>1</sup> sine arbitro milites quae vellent agerent, oppidanos per muros urbisque opportuna loca in  
 8 stationibus disponunt; custodias vigilasque in eam noctem intentius instruunt; circa portam qua venturum hostem rebantur quod roboris in praesidio  
 9 erat opponunt. Hannibal quarta vigilia ferme ad urbem accessit. Primi agminis erant perfugae Romanorum et arma Romana habebant. Ii, ubi ad portam est ventum, Latine omnes loquentes excitant vigiles aperireque<sup>2</sup> portam iubent: consulem adesse. Vigiles velut ad vocem eorum excitati tumultuari, trepidare, moliri portam. Cataracta<sup>3</sup> clausa erat; eam partim vectibus levant, partim funibus subducunt in tantum altitudinis ut subire

<sup>1</sup> erat ut A<sup>4</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: erat C<sup>4</sup>: om. P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> aperireque JK: aperirique C<sup>4</sup>M<sup>1</sup>BDAN Aldus: aperireque PCR<sup>1</sup>M.

<sup>3</sup> cataracta, P(1)N Aldus, Froben add delecta (om. JKx Conway).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXVI. xxxviii. 6, note; and for the betrayal of its garrison of Numidian cavalry, *ibid.* §§ 11-13.

that they should not trust any letters written in the name of Marcellus. This message of the consul had come to Salapia<sup>1</sup> a little before a letter from Hannibal written in Marcellus' name arrived, saying that he would come to Salapia in the night following that day; that the soldiers on garrison duty should be ready, in case he should have any need of their services. The men of Salapia were aware of the deception, and thinking that Hannibal, out of anger not only because of their revolt, but also for the slaughter of his cavalry, was seeking an excuse for punishing them, they sent back the messenger—he was, in fact, a Roman deserter—that the soldiers might do what they wished unobserved. And they posted men of the town along the walls and at favourable positions in the city in detachments on guard duty. For that night they established guard-lines and sentries with more than usual care. Around the gate by which they thought the enemy would come they drew up the best men in the garrison. Hannibal approached the city about the fourth watch. At the head of the column were the Roman deserters, and they had Roman arms. When they came up to the gate, all of them, speaking Latin, called out to the sentinels and bade them open the gate. The consul, they said, was coming. The sentries, pretending to have been awakened by their outcry, were in a turmoil, excited and labouring to open the gate. The portcullis<sup>2</sup> had been closed. Some raised it with levers, some hoisted it with ropes, just high enough for men to pass

<sup>2</sup> Constructed of stout timbers strengthened with iron, as described in Aeneas Tacticus xxxix. 3 f. (about 150 years earlier); cf. Vegetius IV. iv.; Appian *B. C.* IV. 78. The vertical grooves are often found in remains of city gates.



- A.U.C. 546 11 recti<sup>1</sup> possent. Vixdum satis patebat iter, cum perfugae certatim ruunt per portam; et cum sescenti<sup>2</sup> ferme intrassent, remisso fune quo suspensa 12 erat cataracta magno sonitu cecidit. Salapitani alii perfugas neglegenter ex itinere suspensa umeris, ut inter pacatos, gerentis arma invadunt, alii e turribus<sup>3</sup> portae murisque saxis, sudibus, pilis 13 absterrent hostem. Ita inde Hannibal suamet ipse fraude captus abiit, profectusque ad Locrorum solvendam obsidionem, quam urbem<sup>4</sup> L. Cincius summa vi, operibus tormentorumque omni genere ex 14 Sicilia advecto oppugnabat.<sup>5</sup> Magoni iam haud ferme fidenti retenturum defensurumque se urbem, 15 prima spes morte nuntiata Marcelli adfulsit. Secutus inde nuntius Hannibalem Numidarum equitatu praemisso ipsum, quantum adcelerare posset, cum 16 peditum agmine sequi. Itaque ubi primum Numidas edito e speculis signo adventare sensit, et ipse patefacta repente porta ferox in hostes erumpit. Et primo magis quia inproviso id fecerat quam quod 17 par viribus esset, anceps certamen erat; deinde ut supervenere Numidae, tantus pavor Romanis est iniectus ut passim ad mare ac naves fugerent relictis operibus machinisque quibus muros quatiebant. Ita adventu Hannibalis soluta Locrorum obsidio est.

<sup>1</sup> recti *A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: recte *P(1)N*.

<sup>2</sup> sescenti *A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus*: d c *N<sup>1</sup>*: d C: de *P(3)R<sup>1</sup>N*.

<sup>3</sup> e turribus *SpA<sup>1</sup>JK Froben, Conway*: et turribus *N<sup>1</sup>*: e turri eius *C Aldus*: et turri eius *P(3)N*

<sup>4</sup> quam urbem *Wesenberg, Luchs*: quam *P(1)NA<sup>1</sup>JK*: quae cingebat urbem *Johnson*.

<sup>5</sup> oppugnabat *A<sup>1</sup>JK*: oppugnans *P*: -pugnans *Johnson*: -pugnasset *P<sup>2</sup>(1)N*.

<sup>1</sup> This is the Mago responsible for the death of Gracchus in 212 B.C.; cf. XXV. xvi.

under it upright. Hardly had the way been quite cleared, when the deserters vied with each other in dashing through the gate. And when about six hundred had entered and the rope by which it was held up had been let go, the portcullis fell with a great crash. Some of the Salapians attacked the deserters, who fresh from their march were carrying arms carelessly slung from their shoulders, as if among peaceable people; others from towers of the gate and from the walls frightened off the enemy with stones, poles and javelins. Thus Hannibal, having been ensnared by his own ruse, went away; and he set out to raise the siege of Locri, a city which Lucius Cincius was besieging with great violence by means of siege-works and with every sort of artillery brought from Sicily. For Mago,<sup>1</sup> who no longer was confident that he would hold and defend the city, the first ray of hope came with the news of Marcellus' death. Then followed the news that Hannibal had sent the Numidian cavalry in advance and was himself following with the infantry column, making all possible speed. Accordingly, as soon as Mago knew from signals given from watch-towers that the Numidians were approaching, he also suddenly opens a gate and sallies out confidently against the enemy. And at first it was a doubtful conflict, rather because his action had been unexpected than because he was a match in forces. Then when the Numidians came up, such terror was inspired among the Romans that they fled pell-mell to the sea and the ships, leaving siege-works and engines with which they were battering the walls. Thus by Hannibal's coming the siege of Locri was raised. B.C. 208

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XXIX. Crispinus postquam in Bruttios profectum Hannibalem sensit, exercitum cui conlega praefuerat M. Marcellum tribunum militum Venusiam abducere  
 2 iussit; ipse cum legionibus suis Capuam profectus, vix lecticae agitationem prae gravitate vulnerum patiens, Romam litteras de morte conlegae scripsit,  
 3 quantoque ipse in discrimine esset: se comitiorum causa non posse Romam venire, quia nec viae laborem passurus videretur et de Tarento sollicitus esset, ne ex Brutiis Hannibal eo converteret agmen; legatos opus esse ad se mitti, viros prudentes cum quibus  
 4 quae vellet de re publica loqueretur. Hae litterae recitatae magnum et luctum morte alterius consulis et metum de altero fecerunt. Itaque et Q. Fabium filium ad exercitum Venusiam miserunt, et ad consulem tres legati missi, Sex. Iulius Caesar, L. Licinius Pollio, L. Cincius Alimentus, cum paucis  
 5 ante diebus ex Sicilia redisset. Hi nuntiare consuli iussi ut, si ad comitia ipse <sup>1</sup> venire Romam non posset, dictatorem in agro Romano diceret comitiorum  
 6 causa; si consul Tarentum profectus esset, Q. Claudium praetorem placere in eam regionem inde abducere legiones in qua plurimas sociorum urbes tueri posset.

7 Eadem aestate M. Valerius cum classe centum

<sup>1</sup> ipse *N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.*

<sup>1</sup> Valerius Laevinus (xxii. 9), not Valerius Messalla (vii. 16).

XXIX. Crispinus, on learning that Hannibal had set out for the country of the Bruttii, ordered Marcus Marcellus, tribune of the soldiers, to lead away to Venusia the army which his colleague had commanded. He himself set out with his legions for Capua, although on account of his serious wounds he was barely able to endure the motion of his litter. But he sent a letter to Rome in regard to the death of his colleague, stating also in what danger he was himself; that he was unable to come to Rome for the elections, because it seemed that he would not be able to endure the strain of the journey, also because he was concerned about Tarentum, lest Hannibal, leaving the land of the Bruttii, should head his column in that direction. It was necessary, he wrote, that envoys be sent to him, men of foresight with whom he might say what he wished to say about the state. The reading of this letter caused at the same time great grief for the death of one consul and great fear in regard to the other. Accordingly they sent Quintus Fabius the son to the army at Venusia, and also three legates were sent to the consul, namely, Sextus Iulius Caesar, Lucius Licinius Pollio and Lucius Cincius Alimentus, the last named having returned from Sicily a few days before. These men were bidden to report to the consul that, if he could not come himself to Rome for the elections, he should on Roman territory name a dictator for the purpose of the elections; that if the consul should go to Tarentum, it was the will of the senate that Quintus Claudius, the praetor, should lead his legions away to a region in which he could defend the greatest number of cities of the allies.

The same summer Marcus Valerius <sup>1</sup> crossed over

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navium ex Sicilia in Africam tramisit, et ad Clupeam urbem escensione facta agrum late nullo ferme obvio armato vastavit.<sup>1</sup> Inde ad naves raptim praedatores recepti, quia repente fama accidit classem Punicam  
8 adventare. Octoginta erant et tres naves. Cum his haud procul Clupea prospere pugnat Romanus. Duodeviginti<sup>2</sup> navibus captis, fugatis aliis, cum magna terrestri navalique praeda Lilybaeum rediit.

9 Eadem aestate et Philippus implorantibus Achaeis auxilium tulit, quos et Machanidas tyrannus Lacedaemoniorum finitimo bello urebat, et Aetoli, navibus per fretum quod Naupactum et Patras interfluit—Rhion incolae vocant—exercitu traiecto, depopulati  
10 erant. Attalum quoque regem Asiae, quia Aetoli summum gentis suae magistratum ad eum proximo<sup>3</sup> concilio detulerant,<sup>4</sup> fama erat in Europam traiecturum. XXX. Ob haec Philippo in Graeciam descendenti ad Lamiam urbem Aetoli duce Pyrrhia, qui praetor in eum annum cum absente Attalo  
2 creatus erat, occurrerunt. Habebant et ab Attalo auxilia secum et mille<sup>5</sup> ferme ex Romana classe a P. Sulpicio missos. Adversus hunc ducem atque

<sup>1</sup> vastavit *P(1)N Aldus*: -abat *JK Froben* 2.

<sup>2</sup> Duodeviginti *Conway*: decem et octo *Eds.*: x et viii *P(1)N*. Cf. p. 186, crit. note 6.

<sup>3</sup> proximo, *P(3)A<sup>1</sup>N add* anno (om. *A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs*): proximo annuo *Weissenborn*: proximi anni *Conway conj.*

<sup>4</sup> detulerant *JK Aldus, Froben*: -erunt *P(1)N*.

<sup>5</sup> mille (∞) *PCA<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK*: om. *RMBDAN*.

<sup>1</sup> So named (= 'Aornís, shield) from the shape of the hill; south of Cape Bon (Promuntorium Mercurii) and east of Carthage (85 miles); Strabo XVII. iii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> In this passage Livy departs from strict chronology by summarizing under 208 B.C. events also in Macedonia and

from Sicily to Africa with a fleet of a hundred ships, B.C. 208 and making a landing at the city of Clupea,<sup>1</sup> he ravaged the country far and wide, meeting hardly any armed men. Then the foragers were hurriedly brought back to the ships, because suddenly came the report that a Carthaginian fleet was approaching. There were eighty-three ships. With these the Roman fought with success not far from Clupea. After capturing eighteen ships and putting the rest to flight, he returned to Lilybaeum with a great quantity of booty from the land and from the ships.

The same summer<sup>2</sup> Philip, in response to their appeal, lent aid to the Achaeans, whom Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedaemon, was harassing with a war on their border, while the Aetolians also, sending their army on ships across the strait—the inhabitants call it Rhion—which flows between Naupactus and Patrae, had devastated their country. Furthermore Attalus, King of Asia, it was reported, was about to cross over into Europe, since the Aetolians had at their last council conferred upon him the highest magistracy of their nation. XXX. Consequently, as Philip was coming down into Greece, the Aetolians encountered him at the city of Lamia, their general being Pyrrhias, who along with the absent Attalus had been elected praetor<sup>3</sup> for that year. They had with them auxiliary troops from Attalus and also about a thousand men sent by Publius Sulpicius from the Roman fleet. Against this general and these forces

Greece which belong to the previous year, but had been passed over. Thus the Nemean Games (xxx. f.) occurred in 209 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. στρατηγός. Attalus I (241-197 B.C.) had the same title as an honour merely.

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has copias Philippus bis prospero eventu pugnavit; mille<sup>1</sup> admodum hostium utraque pugna occidit. 3 Inde cum Aetoli metu compulsi Lamiae urbis moenibus tenerent sese, Philippus ad Phalara exercitum reduxit.<sup>2</sup> In Maliaco sinu is locus est, quondam frequenter habitatus propter egregium portum tutasque circa stationes et aliam opportunitatem maritumam terrestremque. Eo legati ab rege Aegypti Ptolomaeo Rhodiisque et Atheniensibus et Chiis venerunt ad dirimendum inter Philippum atque Aetolos bellum. Adhibitus ab Aetolis et ex finitimis 5 pacificator Amynder rex Athamanum. Omnium autem non tanta pro Aetolis cura erat, ferociori quam pro ingeniis Graecorum gente, quam ne Philippus regnumque eius rebus Graeciae,<sup>3</sup> grave libertati 6 futurum, immisceretur. De pace dilata consultatio est in concilium Achaeorum, concilioque ei et<sup>4</sup> locus et dies certa indicta; interim triginta dierum indutiae 7 impetratae. Profectus inde rex per Thessaliam Boeotiamque Chalcidem Euboeae venit, ut Attalum, quem classe Euboeam petiturum audierat, portibus 8 et litorum adpulsu arceret. Inde praesidio relicto adversus Attalum, si forte interim traiecisset, profectus ipse cum paucis equitum levisque<sup>5</sup> armaturae 9 Argos venit. Ibi curatione Heraeorum Nemeorumque

<sup>1</sup> mille (∞) PC: om. RMBDAN: milites N<sup>o</sup>: multos A<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> reduxit A<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: duxit P(1)A<sup>o</sup>N.

<sup>3</sup> rebus Graeciae, JK Aldus, Froben have this after futurum.

<sup>4</sup> -que ei et N<sup>o</sup> Aldus, Froben: -que ei A<sup>o</sup>J<sup>1</sup>K: et P(1)(A<sup>o</sup>) A<sup>o</sup>N.

<sup>5</sup> -que P(1)N Aldus, Froben: om. SpJK.

<sup>1</sup> On the north shore of the Gulf. Phalara was the port of Lamia.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. from Phalara.

Philip fought twice with success. In each battle he B.C. 208 slew fully a thousand of the enemy. Then, while the Aetolians, constrained by fear, remained inside the walls of the city of Lamia, Philip led his army back to Phalara. The place is on the Maliac Gulf,<sup>1</sup> and was formerly populous on account of its remarkable harbour and safe roadsteads on this side and that and other advantages from the sea and the land. To that place came ambassadors from Ptolemy, King of Egypt, and from the Rhodians and Athenians and Chians, in order to bring to an end the war between Philip and the Aetolians. A peacemaker from their neighbours also was brought in by the Aetolians, Amynder, King of the Athamanians. For all of them, however, it was not so much solicitude for the Aetolians, a race more warlike than comports with the character of Greeks, as it was the fear lest Philip and his kingdom might become involved in the affairs of Greece and become a menace to freedom. As for the peace, consideration was postponed until the council of the Achaeans, and for that council a place and also a fixed date were appointed. Meantime a truce for thirty days was obtained. Setting out from thence<sup>2</sup> King Philip came by way of Thessaly and Boeotia to Chalcis in Euboea, in order that he might prevent Attalus, who, he had heard, was about to make for Euboea with a fleet, from using the harbours and from landing on the shore. And then, leaving a garrison against Attalus, in case he should cross over in the meantime, he set out himself with a few horsemen and light-armed and came to Argos. There the direction of the games in honour of Hera and of the Nemean Games<sup>3</sup> was conferred upon him by vote of

<sup>3</sup> Celebrated in the 2nd and 4th year of each Olympiad; cf. pp. 330-331, note 2.

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- suffragiis populi ad eum delata, quia se Macedonum reges ex ea civitate oriundos referunt,<sup>1</sup> Heraeis peractis ab ipso ludicro extemplo Aegium profectus est ad indictum multo ante sociorum concilium. Ibi de Aetolico finiendo bello actum, ne causa aut Romanis aut Attalo intrandi Graeciam esset. Sed ea omnia vixdum indutiarum tempore circumactio Aetoli turbavere, postquam et Attalum Aeginam venisse et Romanam classem stare ad Naupactum audivere. Vocati enim in concilium Achaeorum, in quo et eae legationes erant quae ad Phalara egerant de pace, primum questi sunt quaedam parva contra fidem conventionis tempore indutiarum facta; postremo negarunt dirimi bellum posse, nisi Messeniis Achaei Pylum redderent, Romanis restitueretur Atintania, Scerdilaedo et Pleurato Ardiaei. Enimvero indignum ratus Philippus victos victori sibi ultro condiciones ferre, ne antea quidem se aut de pace audisse aut indutias pepigisse dixit spem ullam habentem quieturos Aetolos, sed ut<sup>2</sup> omnes socios testes haberet se pacis, illos belli causam quaesisse. Ita infecta pace concilium dimisit quattuor milibus armatorum relictis ad praesidium Achaeorum et quinque longis navibus acceptis, quas si adiecisset missae nuper ad se classi Carthaginensium et ex Bithynia ab rege Prusia venientibus

<sup>1</sup> referunt *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben* : ferunt *Perizonius*.

<sup>2</sup> ut *P(3)N Aldus, Froben* : uti *A·N·JK*.

<sup>1</sup> Attalus purchased the island three years before this from the Aetolians; these had acquired it under a treaty made with the Romans, who had taken forcible possession; Polybius XXII. viii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XXVI. xxiv. 9.

the people, because the kings of the Macedonians B.C. 208 claim that they sprang from that city. When the Heraea were over, immediately after the games he left for Aegium and the long since appointed council of his allies. There they discussed the termination of the Aetolian war, that neither the Romans nor Attalus might have reason to enter Greece. But all such plans, though the time of the truce had scarcely elapsed, were thrown into confusion by the Aetolians, when they heard that Attalus had reached Aegina<sup>1</sup> and also that a Roman fleet was lying at Naupactus. For on being called into the council of the Achaeans, in which were also present the embassies which at Phalara had spoken on behalf of peace, they at first complained of certain small breaches of the agreement committed during the truce. Finally they asserted that the war could not be brought to an end unless the Achaeans should restore Pylus to the Messenians, and Atintania should be returned to the Romans, and the Ardiaei to Scerdilaedus and Pleuratus.<sup>2</sup> Philip, who thought it a perfect outrage for the vanquished actually to offer terms to him, the victor, said that on the former occasion also it was not with any hope that the Aetolians would keep quiet that he had either listened to pleas for peace or agreed to a truce, but in order to have all the allies witnesses that he had sought a ground for peace, the Aetolians a ground for war. So, with peace unachieved, he dismissed the council, leaving four thousand armed men to protect the Achaeans and receiving five warships from them. He had decided that, if he should add these to the Carthaginian fleet lately sent to him, and to the ships that were coming from Bithynia from King Prusias, he would attack the

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navibus, statuerat navali proelio lacessere Romanos  
17 iam diu in regione ea potentes maris. Ipse ab eo  
concilio Argos regressus; iam enim Nemeorum  
adpetebat tempus, quae celebrari<sup>1</sup> volebat praesentia  
sua.

XXXI. Occupato rege apparatu ludorum et per  
dies festos licentius quam inter belli tempora remit-  
tente animum P. Sulpicius ab Naupacto profectus  
classem appulit inter Sicyonem et Corinthum,  
agrumque nobilissimae<sup>2</sup> fertilitatis effuse vastavit.  
2 Fama eius rei Philippum ab ludis excivit; raptimque  
cum equitatu profectus, iussis subsequi peditibus,  
palatos passim per agros gravesque praeda, ut qui  
nihil tale metuerent, adortus Romanos compulit  
3 ad<sup>3</sup> naves. Classis Romana haudquaquam laeta  
praeda Naupactum redit. Philippo ludorum quoque  
qui reliqui erant celebritatem quantaecumque, de  
Romanis tamen, victoriae partae fama auxerat,  
4 laetitiaque ingenti celebrati festi dies, eo magis  
etiam quod populariter dempto capitis insigni  
purpuraque atque alio regio habitu aequaverat  
ceteris se in speciem, quo nihil gratius est civitatibus  
5 liberis; praebuissetque haud dubiam eo facto spem  
libertatis, nisi omnia intoleranda libidine foeda ac de-  
formia<sup>4</sup> effecisset. Vagabatur enim<sup>5</sup> cum uno aut  
6 altero comite per maritas domos dies noctesque, et  
summittendo se in privatum fastigium quo minus  
conspectus, eo solutior erat, et libertatem, cum aliis

<sup>1</sup> celebrari *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>?JK Aldus, Froben*: -are *P(1)N*.

<sup>2</sup> agrumque nobilissimae *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: om.  
*P(1)N, one line*.

<sup>3</sup> ad *Sp<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Froben 2*: in *P(1)N Aldus*.

<sup>4</sup> deformia *CM<sup>1</sup>N<sup>2</sup>*: deformi *P(3)NJK*.

<sup>5</sup> enim *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: autem *N<sup>2</sup>JK Conway*.

Romans, who had long commanded the sea in that region, in a naval battle. As for himself, he returned from that council to Argos; for the time of the Nemean Games was at hand, and he wished them to be more festive because of his presence.

XXXI. While the king was engaged in preparing for the games and relaxing during the festal days with more freedom than in war-times, Publius Sulpicius sailing from Naupactus put in with his fleet between Sicyon and Corinth and ravaged a region of the most noted fertility far and wide. The report of this called Philip away from the games; and setting out in haste with the cavalry, after ordering the infantry to follow, he attacked the Romans, who, fearing nothing of the kind, were widely scattered over the country and loaded down with their plunder, and he drove them to their ships. The Roman fleet, not at all happy over its plunder, returned to Naupactus. For Philip the remainder of the games also had gained in festivity from the news of a victory, unimportant as it might be, but still over the Romans. And the festival was observed with immense rejoicing, all the more because, to be popular, he had removed his diadem and purple and other regal attire, and in appearance had put himself on the same plane as the others, than which nothing is more acceptable to free states. Also by doing so he would have offered them no uncertain hope of freedom, had he not degraded and debased everything by his insufferable lust. For with one or two companions he would roam day and night round the homes of married couples, and lowering himself to the level of a private citizen, the less he was observed the more unrestrained was he; and liberty, of which

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- vanam ostendisset, totam in suam licentiam verterat.  
 7 Neque enim omnia emebat aut eblandiebatur, sed vim etiam<sup>1</sup> flagitiis adhibebat, periculosumque et viris et parentibus erat moram incommoda severitate libidini regiae fecisse. Uni etiam principi Achaeorum Arato adempta uxor nomine Polycratia ac spe regiarum nuptiarum in Macedoniam asportata fuerat.  
 9 Per haec flagitia sollemni Nemeorum peracto paucisque additis diebus, Dymas est profectus ad praesidium Aetolorum, quod ab Eleis aditum acceptumque in urbem erat, eiciendum. Cycliadas—penes eum summa imperii erat—Achaeique ad Dymas regi occurrere, et Eleorum accensi odio, quod a ceteris Achaeis dissentirent, et infensi Aetolis, quos Romanum quoque adversus se movisse bellum  
 11 credebant. Profecti ab Dymis coniuncto exercitu transeunt Larisum amnem, qui Eleum agrum ab<sup>2</sup> Dymaeo dirimit. XXXII. Primum diem quo fines hostium ingressi sunt populando absumpserunt; postero die acie instructa ad urbem accesserunt praemissis equitibus qui obequitando portis<sup>3</sup> promptum ad excursiones genus lacesserent Aetolorum.  
 2 Ignorabant Sulpicium cum quindecim navibus ab Naupacto Cyllenen traiecisse et expositis in terram quattuor milibus armatorum silentio noctis, ne con-

<sup>1</sup> etiam *A<sup>9</sup>N<sup>9</sup>JK Froben 2 : om. P(1)N.*<sup>2</sup> ab *A<sup>9</sup>N<sup>9</sup>JK, as in line above : a P(1)N Aldus.*<sup>3</sup> portis *A<sup>9</sup>N<sup>9</sup>JK : om. P(1)N.*

he had made but an empty show to others, for his purpose he had turned wholly to licence. For he did not obtain everything by purchase or cajoling, but even employed force to gain his shameful ends. And it was dangerous for both husbands and parents if they had delayed the royal lust by disobliging strictness. Even from Aratus, one of the leading men of the Achaeans, his wife, named Polycratia, had been taken away and carried off into Macedonia with the prospect of a royal marriage.

After the festival of the Nemea had been completed in the midst of such shameful conduct, and he had added a few more days, he set out for Dymae, in order to expel the Aetolian garrison which had been summoned by the Eleans and admitted to their city.<sup>1</sup> Cycliadas, who held the chief command, and the Achaeans met the king near Dymae, being not only inflamed with hatred of the Eleans because they were at odds with the rest of the Achaeans, but also hostile to the Aetolians, who, they believed, had stirred the Romans likewise to a war against them. Setting forth from Dymae and uniting their armies, they crossed the river Larisus, which separates the Elean territory from that of Dymae. XXXII. The first day on which they entered the territory of the enemy they spent in devastation. On the next day, drawing up a battle-line, they approached the city, after sending the cavalry in advance; it was to ride up to the gates and provoke the Aetolians, a race of men alert for sallies. They did not know that Sulpicius with fifteen ships had crossed over from Naupactus to Cyllene, and landing four thousand armed men had entered Elis in the dead of night, so that the column

<sup>1</sup> The city of Elis, not Dymae, which was in Achaia.

3 spici agmen posset, intrasse Elim. Itaque inprovisa  
res ingentem iniecit terrorem, postquam inter Aetolos  
4 Eleosque Romana signa atque arma cognovere. Et  
primo recipere suos voluerat rex; deinde <sup>1</sup> contracto  
iam inter Aetolos et Tralles—Illyriorum id est genus  
—certamine cum urgeri videret suos, et ipse rex  
5 cum equitatu in cohortem Romanam incurrit. Ibi  
equus pilo traiectus cum prolapsus super <sup>2</sup> caput  
regem effudisset, atrox pugna utrimque accensa est,  
et ab Romanis impetu in regem facto et protegentibus  
6 regiis. Insignis et ipsius pugna fuit, cum pedes inter  
equites coactus esset proelium inire. Dein cum iam  
impar certamen esset, caderentque circa eum multi  
et volnerarentur, raptus ab suis atque alteri equo  
7 iniectus fugit.<sup>3</sup> Eo die castra quinque milia passuum  
ab urbe Eleorum posuit. Postero die ad propin-  
quum Eleorum castellum <sup>4</sup>—Pyrgum vocant—copias  
omnes <sup>5</sup> eduxit, quo agrestium multitudinem cum  
pecoribus metu populationum compulsam audierat.  
8 Eam inconditam inermemque multitudinem primo  
statim terrore adveniens cepit; compensaveratque  
ea praeda quod ignominiae ad Elim acceptum fuerat.  
9 Dividenti praedam captivosque—fuere autem quat-  
tuor milia hominum, pecorum <sup>6</sup> omnis generis ad

<sup>1</sup> deinde *P(1)N Aldus*, dein *JK Froben 2*.

<sup>2</sup> super *Madvig*: per *P(1)NSp Froben 2*: in *A?JK Aldus*.

<sup>3</sup> fugit *P(1)NJK*: fuit *Sp*.

<sup>4</sup> castellum, *P(3)* omit the three preceding words (a line supplied by *A?JK, Aldus, Froben*).

should not be seen. Consequently the surprise B.C. 208  
inspired great alarm, when they had recognized  
Roman standards and arms among the Aetolians and  
Eleans. And at first the king had wished to recall  
his men; then, on seeing his own men hard pressed  
by the battle already begun between the Aetolians  
and the Tralles, an Illyrian race, the king also with  
his cavalry charged a Roman cohort. There his  
horse was run through by a javelin and threw the  
king sprawling over his head, whereupon a fierce  
battle was kindled on both sides, as the Romans  
made an attack upon the king and at the same time  
the king's guards tried to protect him. Con-  
spicuous was his own fighting also, although he had  
been forced to go into battle on foot among horse-  
men. Then, when the combat was now one-sided  
and many were falling and being wounded around  
him, he was seized by his men, was lifted upon  
another horse, and fled. On that day he pitched  
camp five miles from the city of Elis. The next day  
he led out all his troops to a neighbouring fortress of  
the Eleans—they call it Pyrgus—into which he had  
heard that a great number of rustics, together with  
their flocks, had been driven by the fear of being  
robbed. That unorganized and unarmed multitude  
he at once captured in the first panic as he came up.  
And by that booty he had made good the disgrace he  
had suffered at Elis. As he was dividing the booty  
and the captives—there were in fact four thousand  
persons and about twenty thousand cattle of every

<sup>5</sup> copias omnes *P(3)*: omnes copias *AN* (also *A?N?JK Aldus, Froben*, but after die above).

<sup>6</sup> pecorum *JK* (-rumque *Aldus, Froben*): pecoris *P(1)N*: pecorisque *N? Conway*.



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viginti milia—nuntius ex Macedonia venit Aëropum quendam corrupto arcis praesidiique praefecto Lychnidum cepisse, tenere et Dassaretiorum quosdam vicos  
 10 et Dardanos etiam concire. Omisso igitur Achaico atque Aetolico<sup>1</sup> bello, relictis tamen duobus milibus et quingentis omnis generis armatorum cum Menippo et  
 11 Polyphanta ducibus ad praesidium sociorum, profectus ab Dymis per Achaiaem Boeotiamque et Euboeam decumis castris Demetriadem in Thessaliam pervenit.

XXXIII. Ibi alii maiorem adferentes tumultum nuntii occurrunt: Dardanos in Macedoniam effusus Orestidem iam tenere ac descendisse in Argestaeum campum, famamque inter barbaros celebrem esse  
 2 Philippum occisum. Expeditione ea qua cum populatoribus agri ad Sicyonem pugnavit in arborem inlatus impetu equi ad eminentem ramum cornu  
 3 alterum galeae praefregit; id inventum ab Aetolo quodam perlatumque in Aetoliam ad Scerdilaedum, cui notum erat insigne galeae, famam interfecti  
 4 regis<sup>2</sup> volgavit. Post profectionem ex Achaia regis Sulpicius Aeginam classe profectus cum Attalo sese  
 5 coniunxit. Achaeci cum Aetolis Eleisque haud procul Messene prosperam pugnam fecerunt. Attalus rex et P. Sulpicius Aeginae hibernarunt.

<sup>1</sup> atque Aetolico *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK*: *om.* *P(1)N*.

<sup>2</sup> regis *P(1)N Aldus*: philippi *SpA<sup>1</sup>JK Froben* 2: philippi regis *N<sup>1</sup>*.

<sup>1</sup> Now Ochrida, at the north-east end of the lake of the same name (between Albania and Jugoslavia), on the main road from the Adriatic to Thessalonica (later the *Via Egnatia*). South of the lake and bordering on Macedonia were the Dassaretii, an important Illyrian tribe in a mountain country. North-east of the lake were the Illyrian Dardani.

<sup>2</sup> The commercial centre of Thessaly, in Magnesia, at the north end of the Gulf of Pagasae, and strongly fortified.

kind—came the news from Macedonia that one B.C. 208  
 Aëropus by bribing the commander of the citadel and garrison had captured Lychnidus,<sup>1</sup> was holding some villages of the Dassaretii and also stirring up the Dardani. Consequently the king, dropping the Achaean and Aetolian war, but still leaving twenty-five hundred armed men of every sort with Menippus and Polyphantas as commanders to defend his allies, setting out from Dymae, made his way through Achaia and Boeotia and Euboea in ten day's marches to Demetrias<sup>2</sup> in Thessaly.

XXXIII. There other messengers met him, bringing news of a greater inroad: that the Dardanians pouring into Macedonia were already holding Orestis<sup>3</sup> and had come down into the Argestaeon Plain; and that it was currently reported among the barbarians that Philip had been slain. On that raid in which he fought near Sicyon<sup>4</sup> with men who were ravaging the country, he was dashed against a tree by his charging horse, and broke off one of the two horns of his helmet against a projecting branch. It was found by a certain Aetolian and carried into Aetolia to Scerdilaedus, who was acquainted with the ornament of the helmet, and this spread abroad the report that the king had been slain. After the departure of the king from Achaia, Sulpicius went with his fleet to Aegina<sup>5</sup> and joined Attalus. The Achaeans fought a successful engagement with the Aetolians and Eleians not far from Messene. King Attalus and Publius Sulpicius spent the winter at Aegina.

<sup>3</sup> A region of Macedonia east of the Dassaretii and in the upper basin of the river Haliaemon.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxxi. 1 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xxx. 11 and note.

6 Exitu huius anni T. Quinctius<sup>1</sup> consul, dictatore comitiorum ludorumque faciendorum causa dicto T. Manlio Torquato, ex vulnere moritur; alii Tarenti,  
 7 alii in Campania mortuum tradunt. Ita,<sup>2</sup> quod nullo ante bello acciderat, duo consules sine memorando proelio interfecti velut orbam rem publicam reliquerant. Dictator Manlius magistrum equitum  
 8 C. Servilium—tum aedilis curulis erat—dixit. Senatus quo die primum est habitus ludos magnos facere dictatorem iussit, quos M. Aemilius praetor urbanus C. Flaminius, Cn. Servilio consulibus fecerat et in quinquennium voverat. Tum dictator et fecit ludos  
 9 et in insequens<sup>3</sup> lustrum vovit. Ceterum cum duo consulares exercitus tam prope hostem sine ducibus essent, omnibus aliis omissis una praecipua cura patres populumque incessit consules primo quoque tempore creandi, et ut<sup>4</sup> eos crearent potissimum  
 10 quorum virtus satis tuta a fraude Punica esset: cum toto eo bello damnosa praepropera ac fervida ingenia imperatorum fuissent,<sup>5</sup> tum eo ipso anno consules nimia cupiditate conserendi cum hoste manum in  
 11 necopinatam fraudem lapsos esse; ceterum deos immortales, miseritos nominis Romani, pepercisse innoxiiis exercitibus, temeritatem consulum ipsorum capitibus damnassee.

XXXIV. Cum circumspicerent patres quosnam consules facerent, longe ante alios eminebat C.

<sup>1</sup> Quinctius, *AJK add Crispinus*.

<sup>2</sup> Ita *Weissenborn*: id *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben*: ita, id *Riemann*: et, id *Madvig*.

<sup>3</sup> insequens *P(1)N Aldus*: sequens *JK Froben 2*.

<sup>4</sup> et ut *JK Froben 2*: ut *P(1)N Aldus*: et *N*.

<sup>5</sup> fuissent *P(1)NJK*: fuisse *Sp? Froben 2*.

<sup>1</sup> Votive games, vowed in 217 B.C.; XXII. ix. 10; x. 7.

At the end of this year Titus Quinctius, the consul, B.C. 208 after naming Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator for the purpose of holding elections and games, died of his wound. Some relate that he died at Tarentum, others in Campania. So two consuls—and this had happened in no previous war—losing their lives without a notable battle, had left the state as it were bereft. The dictator Manlius named Gaius Servilius, then a curule aedile, as master of the horse. The senate on the first day on which it sat ordered the dictator to conduct the great games<sup>1</sup> which Marcus Aemilius, the city praetor, had conducted in the consulship of Gaius Flaminius and Gnaeus Servilius and had vowed for the fifth year thereafter.<sup>2</sup> At this time the dictator conducted the games and also vowed them for the succeeding lustrum. But inasmuch as two consular armies were so near the enemy without their commanders, the senate and the people, neglecting everything else, were possessed by one particular concern—to elect consuls at the first possible moment, and to elect especially men whose courage was quite safe against the Carthaginian wiles. Not only throughout that war, they said, had the over-hasty, fiery temperament of the generals proved ruinous, but in that very year the consuls in their excessive eagerness to engage with the enemy had fallen unawares into a trap. But, they added, the immortal gods, taking pity upon the Roman people, had spared the innocent armies, and had punished the rashness of the consuls by the loss of their own lives.

XXXIV. While the fathers were casting about to see whom they should make consuls, pre-eminent

<sup>2</sup> But the vow had not been fulfilled.

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2 Claudius Nero. Ei<sup>1</sup> conlega quaerebatur; et virum quidem eum egregium ducebant, sed promptiorem acrioremque quam tempora belli postularent aut 3 hostis Hannibal; temperandum acre ingenium eius<sup>2</sup> moderato et prudenti viro adiuncto conlega censebant. M. Livius erat, multis ante annis ex consulatu 4 populi iudicio damnatus, quam ignominiam adeo aegre tulerat ut rus migrarit<sup>3</sup> et per multos annos 5 et urbe et omni coetu careret<sup>4</sup> hominum. Octavo ferme post damnationem anno M. Claudius Marcellus et M. Valerius Laevinus consules redduxerant eum in urbem; sed erat veste obsoleta capilloque et barba promissa, prae se ferens in vultu habituque 6 insignem memoriam ignominiae acceptae. L. Veturius et P. Licinius censores eum tonderi et squalorem deponere et in senatum venire fungique aliis 7 publicis muneribus coegerunt. Sed tum quoque aut verbo adsentiebatur aut pedibus in sententiam ibat, donec cognati hominis eum causa M. Livii Macati, cum fama<sup>5</sup> eius ageretur, stantem coegit in senatu 8 sententiam dicere. Tunc ex tanto intervallo auditus convertit ora hominum in se, causamque sermonibus praebuit,<sup>6</sup> indigno iniuriam a populo factam, magno-

<sup>1</sup> Ei A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: et P(3)N: set B.

<sup>2</sup> eius P(1)N (before ingenium JK Froben 2): om. Conway.

<sup>3</sup> migrarit Ta<sup>2</sup>x Froben 2, : Conway: -aret P(1)NJK Aldus: -arent Ta.

<sup>4</sup> careret P(1)N Aldus, Conway: caruerit TaSpJK.

<sup>5</sup> fama P(3)A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>: de fama A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: in fama AN.

<sup>6</sup> praebuit TaA<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK: om. P(1)N.

<sup>1</sup> Following his consulship, for the year 219 B.C. with Aemilius Paulus, he was charged with taking too large a share in the spoils of a war against the Illyrians, for which they were granted triumphs; Frontinus IV. i. 45; *ex invidia*

above all the rest was Gaius Claudius Nero; their quest was for his colleague. And they considered Nero a remarkable man, to be sure, but more hasty and violent than the war situation and Hannibal as enemy demanded. They thought his violent nature must be tempered by giving him as his colleague a man of moderation and foresight. There was Marcus Livius,<sup>1</sup> who many years before, after his consulship, had been condemned by verdict of the people, and had been so indignant at that disgrace that he removed to the country and for many years absented himself from the city and also from every gathering of men. About seven years after his condemnation Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the consuls, had brought him back into the city. But he wore old clothing and long hair and beard, revealing outwardly in countenance and garb a notable memory of the disgrace he had incurred. Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius, the censors, compelled him to shave and lay aside his neglected appearance and to come into the senate and perform other public duties. Even then, however, he would either assent in a word or go over to the side of the mover, until the case of his relative, Marcus Livius Macatus,<sup>2</sup> whose reputation was involved, obliged him to stand up and deliver his opinion in the senate. When he was heard at that time after so long an interval, he attracted men's attention to himself and gave occasion for their saying that the people had wronged a man who did not deserve it, and that it had been a great loss that

*peculatus reus*, Aurelius Victor (?) I. i; cf. XXIX. xxxvii. Livius was fined according to Suetonius *Tiberius* iii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxv. 3 ff.

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- que id damno fuisse quod tam gravi bello nec opera  
 9 nec consilio talis viri usa res publica esset: C.  
 Neroni neque Q. Fabium neque M. Valerium Lae-  
 vinum dari conlegam<sup>1</sup> posse, quia duos patricios  
 10 creari non liceret; eandem causam in T. Manlio  
 esse, praeterquam quod recusasset delatum consula-  
 tum recusaturusque esset; egregium par consulum  
 fore, si M. Livium C. Claudio conlegam adiunxissent.  
 11 Nec populus mentionem eius rei ortam a patribus  
 12 est aspernatus. Unus eam rem in civitate is cui  
 deferebatur honos abnuebat, levitatem civitatis  
 accusans: sordidati rei non miseritos candidam  
 togam invito offerre; eodem honores poenasque  
 13 congeri. Si virum bonum<sup>2</sup> ducerent, quid ita  
 pro malo ac noxio damnassent?<sup>3</sup> Si noxium com-  
 perissent, quid ita male credito priore consulatu  
 14 alterum crederent? Haec taliaque arguentem et  
 querentem castigabant patres, et M. Furium  
 memorantes revocatum de exsilio patriam pulsam  
 sede sua restituisset—ut parentium saevitiam, sic  
 patriae patiundo ac ferendo leniendam esse—  
 15 adnisi omnes cum C. Claudio M. Livium consulem  
 fecerunt.

XXXV. Post diem tertium eius diei praetorum  
 comitia habita. Praetores creati L. Porcius Licinus,

<sup>1</sup> conlegam JK: -gas P(1)NTa Aldus, Froben.

<sup>2</sup> virum bonum Ta?: bonum virum A<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus,  
 Froben: bonum P(3)N.

<sup>3</sup> malo ac noxio damnassent TaA<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben:  
 om. P(1)N (these om. si following).

<sup>1</sup> On Camillus and his restoration of Rome see V. li. 1 f.;  
 VII. i. 9 Plutarch *Camillus* xxx. 1.

in so serious a war the state had not availed itself of B.C. 208  
 the services and the advice of such a man; that  
 neither Quintus Fabius nor Marcus Valerius Laevinus  
 could be given to Gaius Nero as his colleague,  
 because it was not lawful to elect two patricians;  
 that the same reason applied to Titus Manlius, in  
 addition to the fact that he had refused and would  
 refuse the offer of a consulship. An extraordinary  
 pair of consuls it would be, if they should link Marcus  
 Livius with Gaius Claudius as his colleague. And  
 mention of the matter, beginning with the fathers,  
 was not frowned upon by the people. The only one  
 in the state who rejected it, accusing the citizens  
 of inconsistency, was the man to whom the office  
 was tendered. He said that, having shown no pity  
 toward a defendant in mourning, they were offering  
 the whitened toga to a reluctant man; honours and  
 penalties were being heaped upon the same person.  
 If they thought him a good man, why then had they  
 condemned him as a bad man and a criminal? If  
 they had found him a criminal, why then, after  
 unfortunately entrusting a former consulship, were  
 they now entrusting a second to him? When he  
 made use of these and similar arguments and com-  
 plaints, the fathers would rebuke him, and by remind-  
 ing him that Marcus Furius,<sup>1</sup> on being recalled from  
 exile, had restored his native city when driven from  
 her place—that, as in the case of parents, so the  
 harshness of one's native city must be appeased by  
 suffering and bearing it—through the united efforts of  
 them all, they elected Marcus Livius consul with  
 Gaius Claudius.

XXXV. On the third day after that the election  
 of praetors took place. Lucius Porcius Licinus,

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C. Mamilius, C. et A. Hostilii Catones. Comitibus perfectis ludisque factis dictator et magister equitum magistratu abierunt. C. Terentius Varro in Etruriam pro praetore missus, ut ex ea provincia C. Hostilius Tarentum ad eum exercitum iret quem T. Quinctius consul habuerat; et L.<sup>1</sup> Manlius trans mare legatus iret viseretque quae res ibi gererentur; simul quod Olympiae ludicrum ea aestate futurum erat, quod maximo coetu Graeciae<sup>2</sup> celebraretur, ut, si tuto per hostem posset, adiret id concilium, ut qui Siculi bello ibi profugi aut Tarentini cives relegati ab Hannibale essent, domos redirent scirentque sua omnia iis quae ante bellum habuissent reddere populum Romanum.

Quia periculosissimus annus imminere videbatur, neque consules in re publica erant, in consules designatos omnes versi, quam primum eos sortiri provincias et praesciscere quam quisque eorum provinciam, quem hostem haberet, volebant. De reconciliatione etiam gratiae eorum in senatu actum est principio facto a Q. Fabio Maximo. Inimicitiae autem nobiles inter eos erant et acerbiores eas indignioresque Livio sua calamitas fecerat quod spretum se in ea fortuna credebatur. Itaque is magis inplacabilis erat et nihil opus esse reconciliatione aiebat:

<sup>1</sup> Quinctius consul habuerat; et L. A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, one line.

<sup>2</sup> Graeciae A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK: om. P(1)N.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. iv. 4; 1. 8; XXVI. xxiii. 1.

Gaius Mamilius, Gaius Hostilius Cato and Aulus Hostilius Cato were elected praetors. After completing the elections and holding the games, the dictator and master of the horse abdicated office. Gaius Terentius Varro was sent into Etruria as propraetor, with the understanding that Gaius Hostilius should go from that province to Tarentum, to the army which Titus Quinctius, the consul, had had. It was decreed also that Lucius Manlius<sup>1</sup> should cross the sea as an emissary and ascertain what was going on there; at the same time, inasmuch as the Olympic Festival was to be held that summer—and, as they said, it was observed by a great multitude of Greeks—if he could be safe from the enemy, he should go to that gathering, so that such Sicilians as were there as refugees on account of the war, or citizens of Tarentum banished by Hannibal, might return and know that the Roman people was restoring to them all the possessions which they had held before the war.

Inasmuch as a very dangerous year seemed impending, and the state had no consuls, everyone turned to the consuls-elect and wished that as soon as possible they should cast lots for their provinces and settle in advance what province and what enemy each of them was to have. Also a reconciliation between them was discussed in the senate, Quintus Fabius Maximus taking the initiative. Now between them was a well-known enmity, and for Livius his own downfall had embittered that enmity and made it more intolerable, because he believed that in that misfortune he had been treated with contempt. And so he was the more deaf to entreaty, and kept saying they had no need to be reconciled; that in

acrius et intentius omnia gesturos timentes ne  
crescendi ex se inimico conlegae potestas fieret.  
9 Vicit tamen auctoritas senatus ut positis simultatibus  
communi animo consilioque administrarent rem  
10 publicam. Provinciae iis non permixtae regionibus,  
sicut superioribus annis, sed diversae extremis  
Italiae finibus, alteri adversus Hannibalem Bruttii  
et Lucani, alteri Gallia adversus<sup>1</sup> Hasdrubalem,  
quem iam Alpibus adpropinquare fama erat, decreta.  
11 Exercitum e duobus qui in Gallia quique in Etruria  
esset, addito urbano, eligeret quem mallet, qui  
12 Galliam esset sortitus. Cui Bruttii provincia  
evenisset, novis legionibus urbanis scriptis, utrius  
13 mallet consulum prioris anni exercitum sumeret; re-  
lictum a consule exercitum Q. Fulvius proconsul ac-  
14 ciperet, eique in annum imperium esset. Et C.  
Hostilio, cui pro Etruria Tarentum mutaverant  
provinciam, pro Tarento Capuam mutaverunt;  
legio una data est,<sup>2</sup> cui Fulvius proximo anno  
prae fuerat.

XXXVI. De Hasdrubalis adventu in Italiam cura  
in dies crescebat. Massiliensium primum legati nun-  
2 tiaverant<sup>3</sup> eum in Galliam transgressum, erectosque

<sup>1</sup> adversus *P(1)N Aldus, Froben* : contra *JK*.

<sup>2</sup> est *P(1)N Aldus* : om. *Spf JK Froben* 2.

<sup>3</sup> nuntiaverant *JK Aldus, Froben* : -erunt *P(1)N*.

every act each would show more spirit and alertness B.C. 208  
for fear an unfriendly colleague might have the oppor-  
tunity to gain at his expense. Nevertheless by the  
authority of the senate they were prevailed upon to  
lay aside their quarrels and to carry on the govern-  
ment with a common spirit and policy. The provinces  
assigned to them were not locally indistinguishable,  
as in the preceding years, but separated by the  
whole length of Italy. To the one was assigned the  
land of the Bruttii and Lucania facing Hannibal, to  
the other Gaul facing Hasdrubal, who was reported  
to be already nearing the Alps. Whichever of them  
should receive Gaul in the allotment was to choose  
the army he preferred out of the two that were in  
Gaul and in Etruria and the one at the city. The  
consul to whom the land of the Bruttii should fall  
as his province was to enrol new legions for the city  
and take, at his own discretion, the army of one or  
the other of the consuls of the previous year. As  
for the army which was not taken by a consul,  
Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, was to take it, and  
his command was to be for one year. And for  
Gaius Hostilius, for whom they had made a change  
of provinces, Tarentum in place of Etruria, they made  
a change of Capua instead of Tarentum. One legion  
was assigned to him, that which in the previous year  
Fulvius had commanded.

XXXVI. In regard to Hasdrubal's coming to Italy  
anxiety was daily increasing. First, ambassadors  
from Massilia<sup>1</sup> had announced that he had passed  
over into Gaul, and that the Gauls were aroused by

<sup>1</sup> Livy, whose chronology gives Hasdrubal a whole year in  
Gaul, does not speak of Scipio's couriers sent to Rome;  
*Zonaras IX. viii. 7.*

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adventu eius, quia magnum pondus auri attulisse diceretur ad mercede auxilia conducenda, Gallorum animos. Missi deinde cum iis legati ab Roma Sex. Antistius et M. Raecius ad rem inspicendam rettulerant misisse se<sup>1</sup> cum Massiliensibus ducibus qui per hospites eorum principes Gallorum omnia explorata referrent; pro comperto habere Hasdrubalem ingenti iam coacto exercitu proximo vere Alpes traecturum, nec tum eum quicquam aliud morari nisi quod clausae hieme Alpes essent.

5 In locum M. Marcelli P. Aelius Paetus augur creatus inauguratusque; et Cn. Cornelius Dolabella rex sacrorum inauguratus est in locum M. Marci, qui biennio ante mortuus erat. Hoc eodem anno et lustrum conditum est a censoribus P. Sempronio Tuditanus et M. Cornelio Cethego. Censa civium capita centum triginta septem milia centum octo, minor aliquanto numerus quam qui ante bellum fuerat. Eo anno primum, ex quo Hannibal in Italiam venisset, comitium tectum esse memoriae proditum est, et ludos Romanos semel instauratos ab aedilibus curulibus Q. Metello et C. Servilio. Et plebeis ludis<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> se *PCAN Aldus: om. RMBDJK.*

<sup>2</sup> plebeis ludis *P(1)NJK Aldus, Froben: plebei ludi (with instaurati) A<sup>2</sup> Wesenberg.*

<sup>1</sup> His route from the western Pyrenees across Gaul is thought by some to have been a northerly one, as possibly indicated by mention of the Arverni at xxxix. 6; see p. 288, n. 2, but also p. 366, n. 2. Highly improbable is Jullian's theory (based upon a questionable interpretation of Silius Italicus XV. 494) that Hasdrubal wintered at Iliberris (Elne), hardly 15 miles from the eastern pass guarded by Scipio's detachment. More can be said for the historic low-level route Tolosa-Carcaso-Narbo, and then on the trail of Hannibal at least until the Rhone was reached. Cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* I. 496; De Sanctis *l.c.* 483.

his coming,<sup>1</sup> because he was said to have brought a great amount of gold in order to hire mercenaries. After that, Sextus Antistius and Marcus Raecius, who were sent with them from Rome as ambassadors to look into the matter, had reported that with Massilians as guides they had sent men to ascertain all the facts through leading Gauls who were guest-friends of their guides, and to report; that they had established that Hasdrubal with a huge army already concentrated would cross the Alps the next spring, and that at that time nothing else was detaining him than that the Alps were closed by the winter.

In place of Marcus Marcellus as augur Publius Aelius Paetus was elected and installed; and Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella was installed as *rex sacrorum* in place of Marcus Marcius, who had died two years before. Also in the same year the lustration was completed<sup>2</sup> by the censors, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. Enrolled in the census were 137,108 citizens, a considerably smaller number than it had been before the war.<sup>3</sup> In that year for the first time since Hannibal had invaded Italy it is recorded that the Comitium was covered,<sup>4</sup> and that the Roman Games were repeated for one day by the curule aediles, Quintus Metellus and Gaius Servilius. And at the

<sup>2</sup> The usual phrase in describing the formal rite of purification with which the work of the censors came to an end; cf. I. xlv. 2, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Ten years before, in the censorship of Flaminius and Aemilius Papus, the number of citizens had been over 270,000, almost twice as many; *Periocha* XX.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* with awnings to protect the spectators at gladiatorial shows. For the same purpose Caesar covered the entire Forum; Pliny *N.H.* XIX. 23.

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546 biduum instauratum a C. Mamilio et M. Caecilio Metello aedilibus plebis; et tria signa ad Cereris eidem dederunt; et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

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11 sortiti erant, praetores sortiri iusserunt. C. Hostilio urbana<sup>2</sup> evenit; addita et peregrina, ut tres in provincias exire possent; A. Hostilio Sardinia, C.  
12 Mamilio Sicilia, L. Porcio Gallia evenit. Summa legionum trium et viginti ita per provincias divisa: binae consulum essent, quattuor Hispania haberet, binas tres praetores, in Sicilia et Sardinia et Gallia,  
13 duas C. Terentius in Etruria, duas Q. Fulvius in Brutiis, duas Q. Claudius<sup>3</sup> circa Tarentum et Sallentinos, unam C. Hostilius Tubulus Capuae;  
14 duae urbanae ut scriberentur. Primis quattuor legionibus populus tribunos creavit; in ceteras consules miserunt.

XXXVII. Priusquam consules proficiscerentur, novendiale sacrum fuit, quia Veis de caelo lapidaverat.

2 Sub unius prodigii, ut fit, mentionem alia quoque nuntiata, Minturnis aedem Iovis et lucum Maricae,  
3 item Atellae murum et portam de caelo tacta; 4 Min-

<sup>1</sup> iam x Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N.

<sup>2</sup> urbana, before this N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus Froben have iurisdictio (om. P(1)N); cf. XXVIII. x. 9; XXIX. xiii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> in Brutiis duas Q. Claudius A<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)N, one line.

<sup>4</sup> tacta P(3)N?: tactam CDN<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben; cf. xxiii. 3.

<sup>1</sup> As in XXV. ii. 10; XXIX. xxxviii. 8; XXX. xxxix. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. VI. p. 346, n. 3, and 501, note.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the legions to be assigned to the consuls.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. note on XXVI. xxiii. 6.

Plebeian Games there was a repetition for two days B.C. 208 by order of Gaius Mamilius and Marcus Caecilius Metellus, plebeian aediles. And they likewise gave three statues at the Temple of Ceres. There was also a banquet for Jupiter on account of the festival.<sup>1</sup>

Later on Gaius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius B.C. 207 entered upon their consulship, the latter for the second time. Because as consuls-elect they had already cast lots for their provinces, they ordered the praetors to cast lots. To Gaius Hostilius fell the city praetorship; the foreign praetorship also was assigned to him, to enable three praetors to go out to provinces.<sup>2</sup> Sardinia fell to Aulus Hostilius, Sicily to Gaius Mamilius, Gaul to Lucius Porcius. The total of the legions was twenty-three, divided as follows among the provinces: the consuls were each to have two legions, Spain four, each of three praetors was to have two, in Sicily and Sardinia and Gaul, Gaius Terentius to have two in Etruria, Quintus Fulvius two in the land of the Bruttii, Quintus Claudius two in the vicinity of Tarentum and the Sallentini, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus one at Capua. Two city legions were to be enrolled. For the first four legions<sup>3</sup> the people elected the tribunes, to the rest of the legions tribunes were sent by the consuls.

XXXVII. Before the consuls set out there were nine days of rites,<sup>4</sup> because stones had rained from the sky at Veii. Following mention of one prodigy, as usual, others also were reported: that at Minturnae the Temple of Jupiter and the grove of Marica,<sup>5</sup> also at Atella the city wall and a gate had been struck by

<sup>1</sup> A goddess especially honoured here at the mouth of the Liris. There was a temple as well; Plutarch *Marius* xxxix. 4; xl. 1.



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turnenses, terribilius quod esset, adiciebant sanguinis  
 rivum in porta fluxisse; et Capuae lupus nocte  
 4 portam ingressus vigilem laniaverat. Haec pro-  
 curata hostiis maioribus prodigia, et supplicatio diem  
 unum fuit ex decreto pontificum. Inde iterum  
 novendiale instauratum, quod in Armilustro lapidibus  
 5 visum plueret. Liberatas religione mentes turbavit  
 rursus nuntiatum Frusinone natum infantem esse<sup>1</sup>  
 quadrimo parem, nec magnitudine tam mirandum  
 quam quod is quoque, ut Sinuessae biennio ante,  
 6 incertus mas an femina esset natus erat. Id vero  
 haruspices ex Etruria aditi foedum ac turpe prodi-  
 gium dicere: extorrem agro Romano, procul terrae  
 contactu, alto mergendum. Vivum in arcam condi-  
 7 dere provectumque in mare proiecerunt. Decrevere  
 item pontifices ut virgines ter novenae per urbem  
 euntes carmen canerent. Id cum in Iovis Statoris  
 aede discerent conditum ab Livio poeta carmen,  
 tacta de caelo aedis<sup>2</sup> in Aventino Iunonis Reginae;  
 8 prodigiumque id ad matronas pertinere haruspices  
 cum respondissent donoque divam placandam esse,  
 9 aedilium curulium edicto in Capitolium convocatae  
 quibus in urbe Romana intraque decimum lapidem  
 ab urbe domicilia essent, ipsae inter se quinque et

<sup>1</sup> infantem esse *P(1)N*: esse infantem *JK Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> aedis *P(1)N*: -des *JK*.

<sup>1</sup> An open space on the Aventine (near S. Sabina) where the purification of arms took place at an annual festival in October.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xi. 4 f.

<sup>3</sup> In expiation of a similar portent seven years later a chorus of 27 maidens rendered a hymn. Livius Andronicus being dead, the poet was one Licinius Tegula; XXXI. xii.

lightning. To make it more terrible, the men of Min- B.C. 207  
 turnae added that there had been a river of blood in the  
 gate. And at Capua a wolf had entered a gate at night  
 and mangled a sentry. These prodigies were atoned  
 for with full-grown victims, and a single day of prayer  
 was observed by decree of the pontiffs. Then again  
 the nine days of rites were repeated, because in the  
 Armilustrum<sup>1</sup> men saw a rain of stones. Relieved  
 of their religious scruples, men were troubled again  
 by the report that at Frusino there had been born a  
 child as large as a four-year-old, and not so much a  
 wonder for size as because, just as at Sinuessa two  
 years before,<sup>2</sup> it was uncertain whether male or  
 female. In fact the soothsayers summoned from  
 Etruria said it was a terrible and loathsome portent;  
 it must be removed from Roman territory, far from  
 contact with earth, and drowned in the sea. They  
 put it alive into a chest, carried it out to sea and threw  
 it overboard. The pontiffs likewise decreed that  
 thrice nine maidens should sing a hymn as they  
 marched through the city.<sup>3</sup> While they were in the  
 Temple of Jupiter Stator, learning that hymn, com-  
 posed by Livius the poet, the Temple of Juno the  
 Queen on the Aventine was struck by lightning.  
 That this portent concerned the matrons was the  
 opinion given by the soothsayers, and that the god-  
 dess must be appeased by a gift; whereupon the  
 matrons domiciled in the city of Rome or within ten  
 miles of it were summoned by an edict of the curule  
 aediles to the Capitol. And from their own number  
 they themselves chose twenty-five, to whom they

9 f. Two other cases of this choral expiation of an *androgynus* are reported from lost books of Livy by Julius Obsequens 34 and 36.

- viginti delegerunt ad quas ex dotibus stipem con-  
 10 ferrent. Inde donum pelvis aurea facta lataque in  
 Aventinum, pureque et caste<sup>1</sup> a matronis sacri-  
 ficatum.  
 11 Confestim ad aliud sacrificium eidem divae ab  
 decemviris edicta dies, cuius ordo talis fuit: ab aede  
 Apollinis boves feminae albae duae porta Carmentali  
 12 in urbem ductae; post eas duo signa cupressea  
 Iunonis Reginae portabantur; tum septem et  
 viginti virgines, longam indutae vestem, carmen in  
 13 Iunonem Reginam canentes ibant, illa tempestate  
 forsitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis, nunc abhorrens  
 et inconditum, si referatur. Virginum ordinem  
 sequebantur decemviri coronati laurea praetextati-  
 14 que. A porta Iugario vico in forum venere. In foro  
 pompa constitit, et per manus reste data virgines  
 sonum vocis pulsu pedum modulantes incesserunt.  
 15 Inde vico Tusco Velabroque per Bovarium forum in  
 clivum Publicium atque aedem Iunonis Reginae  
 perrectum. Ibi duae hostiae ab decemviris immo-  
 latae et simulacra cupressea in aedem inlata.

XXXVIII. Deis rite placatis dilectum consules  
 habebant acrius intentiusque quam prioribus annis  
 2 quisquam meminerat habitum; nam et belli terror  
 duplicatus novi hostis in Italiam adventu, et minus

<sup>1</sup> pureque et caste *SpJK Froben* 2: pure casteque *P(3)N Aldus*.

<sup>1</sup> In the Campus Martius, between the gate and the Flaminian Circus; the only Apollo temple at Rome until the time of Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> As the first known lyric by the very first poet writing at Rome the historian might have told his readers more about it. For the honour paid to Andronicus at the time v. Festus 446 L.

should bring a contribution from their dowries. B.C. 207  
 Out of that a golden basin was made as a gift and  
 carried to the Aventine, and the matrons after due  
 purification offered sacrifice.

At once a day was appointed by the decemvirs for  
 another sacrifice to the same goddess; and the order  
 of procedure was as follows: from the Temple of  
 Apollo<sup>1</sup> two white cows were led through the Porta  
 Carmentalis into the city; behind them were carried  
 two statues of Juno the Queen in cypress wood.  
 Then the seven and twenty maidens in long robes  
 marched, singing their hymn in honour of Juno the  
 Queen, a song which to the untrained minds of that  
 time may have deserved praise, but now, if re-  
 peated, would be repellent and uncouth.<sup>2</sup> Behind the  
 company of maidens followed the decemvirs wearing  
 laurel garlands and purple-bordered togas. From  
 the gate they proceeded along the Vicus Iugarius  
 into the Forum. In the Forum the procession  
 halted, and passing a rope from hand to hand the  
 maidens advanced, accompanying the sound of the  
 voice by beating time with their feet. Then by way  
 of the Vicus Tuscus and the Velabrum, through the  
 Forum Boarium they made their way to the Clivus  
 Publicius<sup>3</sup> and the Temple of Juno the Queen.  
 There the two victims were sacrificed by the  
 decemvirs and the cypress statues borne into the  
 temple.

XXXVIII. After due appeasement of the gods the  
 consuls conducted the levy more vigorously and more  
 strictly than anyone remembered its conduct in  
 previous years. For the terror of the war was  
 doubled by the coming of a new enemy into Italy,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XXVI. x. 6 and note.

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- 3 iuventutis erat unde scriberent milites. Itaque colonos etiam maritimos, qui sacrosanctam vacationem dicebantur habere, dare milites cogeant. Quibus recusantibus edixere in diem certam ut quo quisque iure vacationem haberet ad senatum deferret.
- 4 Ea die ad senatum hi populi venerunt: Ostiensis Alsien-  
5 sis Antias Anxurnas Minturnensis Sinuessanus, et ab supero mari Senensis. Cum vacationes suas quisque populus recitaret, nullius, cum in Italia hostis esset, praeter Antiatem Ostiensemque vacatio observata est; et earum coloniarum iuniores iure iurando adacti supra dies triginta non pernoctaturos se<sup>1</sup> extra moenia coloniae suae, donec hostis in Italia esset.
- 6 Cum omnes censerent primo quoque tempore consulibus eundum ad bellum—nam et Hasdrubali occurrendum esse descendenti ab Alpibus, ne Gallos Cisalpinos neve Etruriam erectam in spem rerum  
7 novarum sollicitaret, et Hannibalem suo proprio occupandum bello, ne emergere ex Brutiis atque obviam ire fratri posset—Livius cunctabatur, parum  
8 fidens suarum provinciarum exercitibus; conlegam ex duobus consularibus egregiis exercitibus et tertio, cui Q. Claudius Tarenti praeesset, electionem habere; intuleratque mentionem de volonibus re-  
9 vocandis ad signa. Senatus liberam potestatem

<sup>1</sup> se, after this *SpJK Froben 2, Eds. have esse, om. by P(1)N Aldus, Conway.*

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Adriatic; cf. Vol. VI., p. 131 and note.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. as represented by its legates. Each delegation probably produced its formula (cf. p. 245, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> No mention of this possibility is made at xxxv. 12 nor at xi. 14. This Claudius had two legions; xxxvi. 13.

and also there were fewer young men from whom to enlist soldiers. Accordingly they compelled even the men of the seaboard colonies, who, it was said, had an exemption that could not be touched, to furnish soldiers. When they refused, the consuls named a date for them to report to the senate on what basis each state had exemption. On that day these came before the senate: Ostia, Alsium, Antium, Anxur, Minturnae, Sinuessa, and from the Upper<sup>1</sup> Sea, Sena. Although each state<sup>2</sup> read the evidence of its exemption, in no case except Antium and Ostia was exemption respected so long as the enemy was in Italy; and in the case of these colonies the younger men were made to swear that they would not pass the night outside the walls of their colony for more than thirty days, so long as the enemy was in Italy.

All the senators were indeed of the opinion that the consuls must take the field at the earliest possible moment. For they felt that Hasdrubal must be met as he came down from the Alps, to prevent his stirring up the Cisalpine Gauls or Etruria, which was already aroused to the hope of rebellion, and likewise that Hannibal must be kept busy with a war of his own, that he might not be able to leave the country of the Bruttii and go to meet his brother. Nevertheless Livius was hesitating, having small confidence in the armies of his provinces, while his colleague, he thought, had his choice between two excellent consular armies and a third army<sup>3</sup> which Quintus Claudius commanded at Tarentum. Livius had also mentioned a proposal to recall the slave-volunteers<sup>4</sup> to their standards. The senate gave the

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. VI. p. 108, note; XXV. xx. 4; xxii. 3.

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consulibus fecit et supplendi unde vellent et eligendi de omnibus exercitibus quos vellent, permutandique et <sup>1</sup> ex provinciis quo <sup>2</sup> e re publica censerent esse traducendi.<sup>3</sup> Ea <sup>4</sup> omnia cum summa concordia consul <sup>10</sup> lum acta. Volones in undevicensimam et vicensi-  
<sup>11</sup> mam legiones scripti. Magni roboris auxilia ex Hispania quoque a P. Scipione M. Livio missa quidam ad id bellum auctores sunt, octo milia Hispanorum Gallorumque et <sup>5</sup> duo milia de legione militum, equitum mille octingentos <sup>6</sup> mixtos Numidas  
<sup>12</sup> Hispanosque; M. Lucretium has copias navibus advexisse;<sup>7</sup> et sagittariorum funditorumque ad tria milia ex Sicilia C. Mamilius misisse.

XXXIX. Auxerunt Romae tumultum litterae ex  
<sup>2</sup> Gallia allatae ab L. Porcio praetore: Hasdrubalem movisse ex hibernis et iam Alpes transire; octo milia Ligurum conscripta armataque coniunctura se transgresso in Italiam esse, nisi mitteretur in Ligures qui eos bello occuparet; se cum invalido exercitu  
<sup>3</sup> quoad tutum putaret progressurum. Hae litterae consules raptim confecto dilectu maturius quam constituerant exire in provincias coegerunt ea mente ut uterque hostem in sua provincia contineret neque coniungi aut conferre in unum vires pateretur.  
<sup>4</sup> Plurimum in eam rem adjuvit opinio Hannibalis,

<sup>1</sup> et *Aldus, Madvig*: om. *P(1)NJK Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> quo *Madvig*: quos *P(3)NJK Aldus, Conway*.

<sup>3</sup> traducendi *P(1)NJK*: -cendos *Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> Ea *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>5</sup> et *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: ad *Sp<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK*.

<sup>6</sup> octingentos *Sp<sup>1</sup>x Aldus, Froben 2*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>7</sup> advexisse *Sp<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK*: adduxisse *P(1)N Aldus*.

consuls unlimited power both to supplement from B.C. 207  
any source they pleased, and to choose out of all the armies men whom they preferred, and to exchange them, and to transfer them from their provinces whithersoever they thought to the advantage of the state. All of this was done with the greatest harmony on the part of the consuls. The slave-volunteers were enrolled in the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Auxiliary forces of great strength, according to some of the authorities for this war, were sent from Spain as well to Marcus Livius by Publius Scipio, namely, eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls and two thousand legionary soldiers, one thousand eight hundred cavalry, partly Numidians, partly Spanish. They report that Marcus Lucretius brought these troops by sea; and that about three thousand archers and slingers were sent from Sicily by Gaius Mamilius.

XXXIX. At Rome the confusion was increased by the receipt of a letter from Gaul written by Lucius Porcius, the praetor, reporting that Hasdrubal had left his winter quarters and was already crossing the Alps; that eight thousand Ligurians, enrolled and armed, would join him after he had crossed into Italy, unless some one should be sent into Liguria to forestall them by a war; that he would himself advance, so far as he thought safe, with an army that was not strong. This letter constrained the consuls to complete the levy in haste and to leave for their provinces earlier than they had planned, with this intention, that each of them should keep an enemy in his province, and not allow them to come together and combine their armies in one. Of the greatest assistance in that direction was Hannibal's miscalcu-

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quod, etsi ea aestate transiturum in Italiam fratrem crediderat, recordando quae ipse in transitu nunc Rhodani, nunc Alpium cum hominibus locisque  
 5 pugnando per quinque menses exhausisset, haudquam tam facilem maturumque transitum expectabat; ea tardius movendi ex hibernis causa fuit.  
 6 Ceterum Hasdrubali et sua et aliorum spe omnia celeriora atque expeditiora fuere. Non enim receperunt modo Arverni cum deincepsque aliae<sup>1</sup> Gallicae atque Alpinae gentes, sed etiam secutae  
 7 sunt ad bellum. Et cum per munita pleraque transitu fratris, quae antea invia fuerant, ducebat, tum etiam duodecim annorum adsuetudine perviis Alpibus factis inter mitiora iam transibant<sup>2</sup> hominum ingenia. Invisitati namque antea alienigenis nec videre ipsi advenam in sua terra adsueti, omni generi humano insociabiles erant. Et primo ignari quo Poenus pergeret suas rupes suaeque castella et pecorum hominumque praedam peti crediderant;  
 9 fama deinde Punici belli, quo duodecimum annum Italia urebatur, satis edocuerat viam tantum Alpes

<sup>1</sup> aliae P(1)N Aldus, Froben: om. SpJK.

<sup>2</sup> transibant P(1)N Conway: -ibat JK Aldus, Froben, Madvig.

<sup>1</sup> So a fragment of Polybius, XI. i. 1; in two months (i.e. from the time he left winter quarters) according to Appian *Hann.* 52.

<sup>2</sup> As to Hasdrubal's route across Gaul, we may not safely argue from the mention of this powerful tribe (really a wide-spreading confederacy) that he passed north of the Cevennes, through the home-country of the Arverni. Cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, I, 496, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Appian accepted, with Livy, the same route as had been followed by Hannibal. That route brought Hannibal down into the land of the Taurini, according to Livy, XXI. xxxviii. 5 ff.

lation. He had believed, indeed, that his brother B.C. 207 would come over into Italy that summer; but when he recalled what he had himself endured during five months, in crossing first the Rhone, and then the Alps, in conflicts with men and the nature of the country, he looked forward to a crossing by no means so easy and so soon accomplished. This accounted for his slowness in leaving winter quarters. But for Hasdrubal everything moved more quickly and more easily than had been expected by himself and others.<sup>1</sup> For not only did the Arverni,<sup>2</sup> and then in turn other Gallic and Alpine tribes, receive him, but they even followed him to war. And not merely was he leading an army through country for the most part made passable by his brother's crossing,<sup>3</sup> although previously trackless, but, thanks to the opening up of the Alps by twelve years of habitual use,<sup>4</sup> they were also crossing through tribes now less savagely disposed. For previously, being never seen by strange peoples and unaccustomed themselves to see a stranger in their own land, they were unfriendly to the human race in general. And at first, not knowing whither the Carthaginian was bound, they had believed that their own rocks and fastnesses and booty in cattle and men were the objects of attack. Then reports of the Punic war, with which Italy had been aflame for eleven years, had made it quite plain to them that the Alps were

Hence the inference that the pass was either Mont-Genèvre or Mont-Cenis. Varro had placed Hasdrubal's pass farther north than that of Hannibal; cf. Servius on *Aeneid* X. 13; De Sanctis *l.c.* pp. 65 f., 561.

<sup>4</sup> By whom Livy omits to state; certainly not by armies comparable to Hasdrubal's.

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esse; duas praevalidas urbes, magno inter se maris terrarumque spatio discretas, de imperio et opibus certare.

- 10 Hae causae aperuerant Alpes Hasdrubali. Ceterum  
11 quod celeritate itineris profectum erat, id mora ad  
Placentiam, dum frustra obsidet magis quam oppug-  
12 nat, conrupit. Crediderat campestris oppidi facilem  
expugnationem esse, et nobilitas coloniae induxe-  
rat eum, magnum se excidio eius urbis terrorem  
13 ceteris ratum iniecturum. Non ipse se <sup>1</sup> solum ea  
oppugnatione <sup>2</sup> inpediit, sed Hannibalem post famam  
transitus eius tanto spe sua celeriore iam moventem  
14 ex hibernis continuerat, quippe reputantem non  
solum quam lenta urbium oppugnatio esset, sed  
etiam quam ipse frustra eandem illam coloniam ab  
Trebis victor regressus temptasset.

XL. Consules diversis itineribus profecti ab urbe  
velut in duo pariter bella distenderant curas homi-  
num, simul recordantium, quas primus adventus  
2 Hannibalis intulisset Italiae clades, simul cum illa  
angeret cura, quos tam propitios urbi atque imperio  
fore deos ut eodem tempore utrobique res publica  
prosperare gereretur? Adhuc adversa secundis pen-  
3 sando rem ad id tempus extractam esse. Cum in  
Italia ad Trasumenum et Cannas praecipitasset  
Romana res, prospera bella in Hispania prolapsam  
4 eam erexisse; postea, cum in Hispania alia super

<sup>1</sup> ipse se *Sp<sup>9</sup>N<sup>9</sup>JK Froben 2*: ipse *PRM*: ipsum *CB DAN Aldus, Madvig*.

<sup>2</sup> oppugnatione *Sp<sup>9</sup>K (imp- N<sup>9</sup>J)*: oppugnatio *P(1)N Madvig*.

<sup>1</sup> No such siege of Placentia was mentioned in XXI. lvii., lix., but only an unsuccessful attack upon its port.

merely a route; that two very powerful cities, B.C. 207 separated from each other by a wide expanse of sea and land, were contending for empire and supremacy.

These were the reasons which had opened the Alps for Hasdrubal. But what had been gained by the rapidity of his march he lost by delaying before Placentia, in a futile blockade rather than a siege. He had believed that the storming of a town in the plain was easy, and the reputation of the colony had led him on, thinking that by the destruction of that city he would inspire great alarm in the others. Not only did he hinder himself by that siege, but he had kept back Hannibal, who was just preparing to leave winter quarters, on hearing so much sooner than he had expected news of his brother's crossing. For Hannibal recalled not only how slow was the besieging of cities, but also how vainly he had himself attempted to take that same colony, upon returning as a victor from the Trebia.<sup>1</sup>

XL. The setting out of the consuls from the city in opposite directions, as though for two wars at the same time, had drawn men's anxious thoughts both ways, while they not only remembered what disasters the first coming of Hannibal had brought into Italy, but also were tormented by this anxiety: what gods were to be so kindly disposed to the city and the empire that the state should meet with success at the same time in both quarters? It was with a balancing of defeats so far by victories, they thought, that matters had dragged on up to that time. When in Italy at Trasumennus and Cannae the Roman state had gone down to defeat, victorious campaigns in Spain had saved her from falling. Later, when in Spain one disaster after another had

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- aliam clades duobus egregiis ducibus amissis duos exercitus ex parte delesset, multa secunda in Italia Siciliaque gesta quassatam rem publicam excepisse;  
 5 et ipsum intervallum loci, quod in ultimis terrarum oris alterum bellum gereretur, spatium dedisse ad  
 6 respirandum. Nunc duo bella in Italiam accepta, duo celeberrimi nominis duces circumstare urbem Romanam, et unum in locum totam periculi molem, omne onus incubuisse. Qui eorum prior vicisset, intra paucos dies castra<sup>1</sup> cum altero iuncturum.  
 7 Terrebat et proximus annus lugubris duorum consulum funeribus. His anxii curis homines digredientes in provincias consules prosecuti sunt. Memoriae proditum est plenum adhuc irae in civis M. Livium ad bellum proficiscentem monenti Q. Fabio ne, priusquam genus hostium cognosset, temere manum consereret, respondisse, ubi primum  
 9 hostium agmen conspexisset, pugnaturum. Cum quaereretur quae causa festinandi esset, "Aut ex hoste egregiam gloriam" inquit "aut ex civibus victis gaudium meritum certe, etsi non honestum, capiam."  
 10 Priusquam Claudius consul in provinciam perveniret,<sup>2</sup> per extremum finem agri<sup>3</sup> . . . ducentem in Sallentinos exercitum Hannibalem expeditis cohortibus adortus C. Hostilius Tubulus in composito

<sup>1</sup> paucos dies castra *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK*: om. *P(1)N*, one line.<sup>2</sup> perveniret *SpJK Froben* 2: veniret *P(1)N Aldus*.<sup>3</sup> agri, followed in *P<sup>1</sup>JK* by *larinatis*, impossible on account of the distance of *Larinum*: *Madvig (Emend.) conj.* *Tarentini*; also *Uriatis (later)*, adopted by *Riemann*: *laritanis P(3)*: -*tani BAN*.

partially destroyed two armies with the loss of two extraordinary generals, many successes in Italy and Sicily had supported the tottering state. And the very distance, they said, in that one of the wars was fought in the remotest part of the world, had given time to recover breath. But now two wars had been admitted into Italy, two generals of the greatest celebrity were encircling the city of Rome, and upon one spot the whole mass, the entire weight of the danger had settled. Whichever of them was the first to win a victory would within a few days unite his camp with the other's. Alarm was caused also by the preceding year, saddened by the death of two consuls. Troubled by such anxieties men escorted the consuls as they parted, leaving for their provinces. It is related that when Marcus Livius, still filled with resentment toward his fellow-citizens, was setting out for the war, and Quintus Fabius warned him not to engage the enemy rashly, before he had come to know their character, he replied that he would fight when he first caught sight of the enemy's column. When the question was asked what reason he had for haste, he said, "I shall win either great fame from the enemy, or from my defeated fellow-citizens a joy that surely is earned, even if not to my credit."

Before Claudius, the consul, reached his province, as Hannibal was leading his army along the very border of the territory of . . .<sup>1</sup> into the country of the Sallentini, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus with cohorts unencumbered by baggage attacked him and caused

<sup>1</sup> Some town not far from Tarentum; cf. § 12. Uria (chief town of the Sallentini), suggested by *Madvig*, was on the Via Appia, halfway between Tarentum and Brundisium. Cf. *Strabo* VI. iii. 6 f.

- A.U.C. 547 11 agmini terribilem tumultum intulit; ad quattuor milia hominum occidit, novem signa militaria cepit. Moverat ex hibernis ad famam hostis Q. Claudius, qui per urbes agri Sallentini castra disposita habebat.
- 12 Itaque ne cum duobus exercitibus simul confligeret, Hannibal nocte castra ex agro Tarentino movit atque
- 13 in Bruttios concessit. Claudius in Sallentinos agmen convertit, Hostilius Capuam petens obvius<sup>1</sup> ad
- 14 Venusiam fuit<sup>2</sup> consuli Claudio. Ibi ex utroque exercitu electa peditum quadraginta milia, duo milia<sup>3</sup> et quingenti equites, quibus consul adversus Hannibalem rem gereret: reliquas copias Hostilius Capuam ducere iussus, ut Q. Fulvio proconsuli traderet.

XLI. Hannibal undique contracto exercitu, quem in hibernis aut in praesidiis agri Bruttii habuerat, in Lucanos ad Grumentum venit spe recipiendi oppida<sup>2</sup> quae per metum ad Romanos defecissent. Eodem a Venusia consul Romanus exploratis itineribus contendit, et mille fere et quingentos passus castra ab hoste<sup>3</sup> locat.<sup>4</sup> Grumentum moenibus prope iniunctum videbatur Poenorum vallum; quingenti passus intererant.

4 Castra Punica ac Romana interiacebat campus; colles imminebant nudi sinistro lateri Carthaginiensium, dextro Romanorum, neutris suspecti, quod nihil

<sup>1</sup> obvius P(1)N: obviam JK.

<sup>2</sup> fuit P(1)N: fit N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben.

<sup>3</sup> duo milia x Aldus, Froben: duo d N<sup>o</sup>: duo A<sup>o</sup>JK: om. (also quingenti, i.e. d) P(1)(A?)N.

<sup>4</sup> ab hoste (urbe J) locat JK Aldus, Froben: locat ab hoste P(3)N.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the winter stations among which his two legions were dispersed; xxxvi. 13. Note that Quintus Claudius is different from the consul Gaius Claudius Nero of section 13.

<sup>2</sup> But in xl. 10 Hannibal had already taken the field. This statement is evidently from a different source.

terrible confusion in the straggling column. He A.C. 207 slew about four thousand men and captured nine military standards. On hearing of the approach of the enemy, Quintus Claudius, who had his camps<sup>1</sup> established near the various cities of the Sallentine territory, had left his winter quarters. Accordingly, not to engage two armies at the same time, Hannibal moved his camp out of the region of Tarentum by night and retired into the country of the Bruttii.<sup>2</sup> Claudius turned his column into the territory of the Sallentini, while Hostilius on his way to Capua met the consul Claudius near Venusia. There forty thousand infantry and twenty-five hundred horsemen were selected from both their armies, that with them the consul might campaign against Hannibal. As for the rest of the forces, Hostilius was ordered to lead them to Capua, to be handed over to Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul.

XLI. Hannibal, after concentrating the army which he had kept in winter quarters or garrisons in the land of the Bruttii, came to Grumentum<sup>3</sup> in Lucania, in the hope of recovering the towns which out of fear had gone over to the Romans. The Roman consul hastened from Venusia to the same place, reconnoitring as he advanced, and pitched camp about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. The Carthaginians' earthwork seemed almost in contact with the walls of Grumentum; the distance was only five hundred paces. Between the Punic camp and the Roman lay a plain. Bare hills overhung the left flank of the Carthaginians and the right flank of the Romans, without arousing suspi-

<sup>3</sup> An important town in the interior, with a large territory; cf. XXIII. xxxvii. 10.



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5 silvae neque ad insidias latebrarum habebant. In medio campo ab stationibus procursantes certamina haud satis digna dictu serebant. Id modo Romanum quaerere apparebat, ne abire hostem pateretur: Hannibal inde evadere cupiens totis viribus in aciem 6 descendebat. Tum consul ingenio hostis usus, quo minus in tam apertis collibus timeri insidiae poterant, quinque cohortes additis quinque manipulis nocte iugum superare et in aversis collibus<sup>1</sup> considerare 7 iubet. Tempus exsurgendi ex insidiis et adgrediendi hostem Ti. Claudium Asellum tribunum militum et P. Claudium praefectum socium edocet, 8 quos cum iis mittebat. Ipse luce prima copias omnes peditum equitumque in aciem eduxit. Paulo post et ab Hannibale signum pugnae propositum est, clamorque in castris ad arma discurrentium est sublatus. Inde eques pedesque certatim portis ruere ac 9 palati per campum properare ad hostes. Quos ubi effusus consul videt, tribuno militum tertiae legionis C. Aurunculeio imperat ut equites legionis quanto 10 maximo impetu possit in hostem emittat: ita pecorum modo incompressos toto passim se campo<sup>2</sup> fudisse ut sterni obterique, priusquam instruantur, possint.

XLII. Nondum Hannibal e castris exierat cum pugnantium clamorem audivit. Itaque excitus tu-

<sup>1</sup> collibus *P(1)N*: vallibus *A·N·JK Aldus, Froben.*

<sup>2</sup> se campo *P(1)NJK Aldus*: campo se *Froben* 2.

great fear into great rejoicing. Sending Hasdrubal's letter to the senate at Rome, he likewise informed the conscript fathers what he was himself intending to do. In view of Hasdrubal's writing to his brother that he would meet him in Umbria,<sup>1</sup> the consul advised the senate to summon a legion from Capua to Rome, to conduct a levy at Rome, to confront the enemy at Narnia<sup>2</sup> with the city troops. In such terms he wrote to the senate. He sent also messengers in advance through the regions of Larinum, of the Marrucini, the Frentani, the Praetutii, along the line of his proposed march, that they should all carry from the farms and the cities provisions, ready for the soldiers to eat, down to the road, and should bring out horses and mules as well, that the weary might have no lack of vehicles. As for himself, out of the whole army he chose the best soldiers, citizens and allies, six thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry. He announced that he intended to seize the nearest city in Lucania and its Carthaginian garrison; that they must all be ready for the march. Setting out at night, he changed his direction to that of Picenum.<sup>3</sup>

The consul in reality was leading his army to his colleague by the longest of forced marches, having left Quintus Cadius, his lieutenant, to command the camp. XLIV. At Rome there was no less panic and confusion than there had been four years before,<sup>4</sup> when

<sup>1</sup> Here were two legions, from which no doubt various detachments had been sent up to the Via Flaminia, even as far as the pass, we must presume (cf. p. 407, n. 1), about 25 miles from the Adriatic.

<sup>2</sup> The distance to be traversed (Canusium to Sena Gallica) was nearly 250 miles.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. XXVI. ix. 6 ff., x.

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ante, cum castra Punica obiecta Romanis moenibus  
 portisque fuerant. Neque satis constabat animis  
 tam audax iter consulis laudarent vituperarentne;  
 2 apparebat, quo nihil iniquius est, ex eventu famam  
 habiturum: castra prope Hannibalem hostem relict  
 sine duce, cum exercitu cui detractum foret omne  
 quod roboris, quod floris fuerit; et consulem in  
 Lucanos ostendisse iter, cum Picenum et Galliam  
 3 peteret, castra relinquentem nulla alia re tutiora  
 quam errore hostis, qui ducem inde atque exercitus  
 4 partem abesse<sup>1</sup> ignoraret. Quid futurum, si id  
 palam fiat, et aut insequi Neronem cum sex milibus  
 armatorum profectum Hannibal toto exercitu velit  
 aut castra invadere praedae relict, sine viribus, sine  
 5 imperio, sine auspicio? Veteres eius belli clades,  
 duo consules proximo anno interfecti terrebant; et  
 ea omnia accidisse, cum unus imperator, unus  
 exercitus hostium in Italia esset; nunc duo bella  
 Punica facta, duos ingentes exercitus, duos prope  
 6 Hannibales in Italia esse. Quippe et Hasdrubalem  
 patre eodem Hamilcare genitum, aequae in pigrum  
 ducem, per tot annos in Hispania Romano exercita-  
 tum bello, gemina victoria insignem, duobus exerciti-  
 7 bus cum clarissimis ducibus deletis. Nam itineris  
 quidem celeritate ex Hispania et concitatis ad arma  
 Gallicis gentibus multo magis quam Hannibalem

<sup>1</sup> abesse *P<sup>2</sup>(3)M<sup>1</sup>?N Aldus*: abisse *Sp<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Froben 2*:  
 abesset *PRM*.

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact the Roman forces left behind near Canusium probably numbered 30,000, including the legions commanded by one of the most capable generals, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, a proconsul. And as a reserve there were two more legions near Tarentum.

a Carthaginian camp had been pitched before the Roman walls and gates. Nor was it quite clear to men's minds whether they should praise or blame so bold a march on the part of the consul. It was plain that it would be praised or blamed according to the outcome, than which nothing is more unjust. They said that the camp had been left near an enemy who was Hannibal, without a general, with an army from which had been detached all its strength, all its flower. And the consul had indicated a march into Lucania, whereas he was heading for Picenum and Gaul, leaving a camp that was defended by nothing more than the deception of the enemy, who was unaware that the general and a part of his army were not there. What was to happen, if that became known and Hannibal should wish either with his whole army to pursue Nero, who had set out with only six thousand armed men, or else to attack the camp, abandoned to plunder, without proper forces, without its high command, without the auspices?<sup>1</sup> The earlier disasters in that war, the death of two consuls in the preceding year, were still terrifying. And they said that all those misfortunes had befallen them when the enemy had but a single general, a single army, in Italy. At present it had become two Punic wars, two mighty armies, two Hannibals, so to speak, in Italy. For Hasdrubal also was a son of the same father, Hamilcar, and an equally strenuous commander, trained for so many years in Spain by a war with Romans, famous too for a double victory, the destruction of two armies and generals of great distinction. Certainly of the swiftness of his march from Spain, and of having aroused the Gallic tribes to war he could boast far more than Hannibal him-

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8 ipsum gloriari posse; quippe in iis locis hunc coegisse  
exercitum quibus ille maiorem partem militum fame  
ac frigore, quae miserrima mortis genera sint,  
9 amisisset. Adiciebant etiam periti rerum Hispaniae  
haud cum ignoto eum<sup>1</sup> duce C. Nerone congressurum,  
sed quem in saltu impedito deprensus forte haud  
10 secus quam puerum conscribendis fallacibus condi-  
cionibus pacis frustratus elusisset. Omnia maiora  
etiam vero praesidia hostium, minora sua, metu  
interprete semper in deteriora inclinato, ducebant.

XLV. Nero postquam iam<sup>2</sup> tantum intervalli ab  
hoste fecerat, ut detegi consilium satis tutum esset,  
2 paucis milites alloquitur. Negat ullius consilium im-  
peratoris in speciem audacius, re ipsa tutius fuisse  
quam suum: ad certam eos se victoriam ducere;  
3 quippe ad quod bellum collega non ante quam ad  
satietatem ipsius peditum atque equitum datae ab  
senatu copiae fuissent, maiores instructioresque quam  
si adversus ipsum Hannibalem iret, profectus sit, eo  
ipsi si<sup>3</sup> quantumcumque virium momentum addiderint,  
4 rem omnem inclinatueros. Auditum modo in acie—  
nam ne ante audiatur daturum operam—alterum  
consulem et alterum exercitum advenisse haud  
5 dubiam victoriam facturum. Famam bellum con-  
ficere, et parva momenta in spem metumque impel-  
lere animos; gloriae quidem ex re bene gesta partae

<sup>1</sup> eum Cr  vier: cum PCR: eo N<sup>1</sup>JK: om. C<sup>2</sup>MBDAN  
Aldus, Froben, Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> iam A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: om. P(1)A<sup>2</sup>N.

<sup>3</sup> eo ipsi si Madvig: eos ipsos ANJK Conway: eo ipsos  
P(3)N<sup>1</sup> Aldus, Froben.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. XXVI. xvii. 5 ff.

self. For he had gathered an army in the very A.C. 207  
region in which Hannibal had lost the larger part of  
his forces by hunger and cold, the most pitiable  
forms of death. Furthermore, men acquainted with  
events in Spain repeatedly added that he would  
encounter in Gaius Nero no unknown general, but  
one whom he, when himself surprised, as it hap-  
pened, in a difficult pass, had balked and baffled  
like a child by the pretence of drawing up terms of  
peace.<sup>1</sup> They reckoned all the enemy's forces even  
larger, their own less, than they were, since fear is an  
interpreter always inclined to the worse side.

XLV. Nero, now that he had already made his  
distance from the enemy such that it was quite safe  
to reveal his plan, briefly addressed his soldiers. He  
said that no plan of any general had been in appear-  
ance more reckless, but in fact safer, than his. He  
was leading them to certain victory. For inasmuch  
as his colleague had set out for the war only when  
infantry and cavalry forces had been furnished by the  
senate to his own satisfaction—larger forces and  
better equipped than if he were marching even  
against Hannibal—if they should themselves with  
their troops add ever so small a makeweight, they  
would change the whole situation. The mere report  
along the battle-line—for he would see to it that they  
did not hear sooner—that a second consul and a second  
army had arrived would put their victory beyond a  
doubt. Hearsay,<sup>2</sup> he said, decides a war and slight  
influences move men in the direction of hope and fear.  
Of the glory at least to be derived from success they

<sup>1</sup> I.e. reports, even unfounded, crystallized into prevailing  
impressions or popular opinion, and so determining morale.  
So e.g. Seneca *Epist.* xiii. 8; cf. XXXIV. xii. 4.

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- 6 fructum prope omnem ipsos laturos; semper quod postremum adiectum sit, id rem totam videri traxisse. Cernere ipsos quo concursu, qua admiratione, quo favore hominum iter suum celebretur.
- 7 Et hercule per instructa omnia ordinibus virorum mulierumque undique ex agris effusorum, inter vota ac<sup>1</sup> preces et laudes ibant. Illos praesidia rei publicae, vindices urbis Romanae imperiique appellabant; in illorum armis dextrisque suam liberorumque
- 8 suorum salutem ac libertatem repositam esse. Deos omnes deasque precabantur ut illis faustum iter, felix pugna, matura ex hostibus victoria esset, damnarenturque ipsi votorum quae pro iis suscepissent, ut, quem ad modum nunc solliciti prosequerentur eos, ita paucos post dies laeti ovantibus victoria obviam irent.
- 10 Invitare inde pro se quisque et offerre et fatigare precibus ut quae ipsis iumentisque usui essent ab se potissimum sumerent; benigne omnia cumulata
- 11 dare. Modestia certare milites, ne quid ultra usum necessarium sumerent; nihil morari, nec abire<sup>2</sup> ab signis nec<sup>3</sup> subsistere<sup>4</sup> nisi<sup>5</sup> cibum capientes; diem ac noctem ire; vix quod satis ad naturale desiderium
- 12 corporum esset, quieti dare. Et ad collegam praemissi erant qui nuntiarent adventum percunctarenturque clam an palam, interdiu an noctu venire sese

<sup>1</sup> ac *SpJK Froben 2: et P(1)N Aldus, Madvig.*<sup>2</sup> abire *Weissenborn: discedere (or abs-) Madvig: om. MSS., Conway.*<sup>3</sup> nec *P(1)N: om. NJK Froben, Conway.*<sup>4</sup> subsistere *P(1)NJK Aldus: absistere Froben 2, Gronovius, Conway.*<sup>5</sup> nisi *Madvig: om. MSS., Conway.*<sup>1</sup> The scene recalls one more briefly pictured in XXVI. ix. 5.

would themselves reap almost the whole benefit. B.C. 207  
Always what was the last to be added is felt to have brought with it the whole issue. They themselves could see by what throngs of people, by what admiration, by what approval, their march was acclaimed.

And in fact they were marching everywhere between lines of men and women who had poured out from the farms on every side, and amidst their vows and prayers and words of praise. Defenders of the state men called them, champions of the city of Rome and of the empire. In their weapons and their right hands, they said, were placed their own safety and freedom, and those of their children. They kept imploring all the gods and goddesses that the soldiers might have a successful march, a favourable battle, a prompt victory over the enemy, and that they might themselves be obliged to pay the vows they had made on their behalf; that, just as they were now anxiously escorting them, so after a few days they might with rejoicing go to meet them in the exultation of victory. Then they vied with each other in invitations and offers and in importuning them to take from them in preference to others whatever would serve the men themselves and their beasts; they heaped everything upon them generously.<sup>1</sup> The soldiers competed in self-restraint, not to take more than they needed. There was no loitering, no straggling, no halt except while taking food; they marched day and night; they gave to rest hardly enough time for the needs of their bodies. And men had been sent in advance by Nero to his colleague, to announce their coming and to inquire whether he wished them to come secretly or openly,

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vellet, isdem an aliis considerare castris. Nocte clam ingredi melius<sup>1</sup> visum est.

XLVI. Tessera per castra ab Livio consule data erat ut tribunus tribunum, centurio centurionem, 2 eques equitem, pedes peditem acciperet: neque enim dilatari castra opus esse, ne hostis adventum alterius consulis sentiret; et coartatio plurium in angusto tendentium facilius futura erat, quod Claudianus exercitus nihil ferme<sup>2</sup> praeter arma secum 3 in expeditionem tulerat. Ceterum in ipso itinere auctum voluntariis agmen erat, offerentibus ultro sese et veteribus militibus perfunctis iam militia et iuvenibus, quos certatim nomina dantes, si quorum corporis species roburque virium aptum militiae 4 videbatur, conscripserat. Ad Senam castra alterius consulis erant, et quingentos ferme inde<sup>3</sup> passus Hasdrubal aberat. Itaque cum iam adpropinquaret, tectus montibus substitit Nero, ne ante noctem castra 5 ingrederetur. Silentio ingressi, ab sui quisque ordinis hominibus in tentoria abducti cum summa omnium laetitia hospitaliter excipiuntur. Postero

<sup>1</sup> melius *P(1)NJK Aldus: om. Spz Froben 2, Conway.*

<sup>2</sup> ferme *SpN<sup>2</sup>JK Froben 2: fere PCA<sup>1</sup> Aldus: ferre RMBDAN.*

<sup>3</sup> inde *P(1)N (before ferme Sp<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus, Froben): om. Conway.*

<sup>1</sup> I.e. by Livius.

<sup>2</sup> With the countersign (on a wooden tablet) were sent out orders for the night; VII. xxxv. 1; IX. xxxii. 4; XXVIII. xiv. 7. Cf. Polybius VI. xxxiv. 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Livius' army was very much larger than Nero's 7,000 plus the volunteers who had joined them on the march.

by day or by night, to establish themselves in the same B.C. 207 camp or in another. It was thought best<sup>1</sup> that they should enter by night in secret.

XLVI. Orders<sup>2</sup> had been sent by Livius, the consul, throughout the camp that tribune should receive tribune, centurion centurion, horseman horseman, foot-soldier foot-soldier;<sup>3</sup> for to enlarge the camp was not to the purpose, he said, lest the enemy should know of the arrival of the other consul. And to crowd in larger numbers of men in cramped quarters was to prove easier, because Claudius' army had brought with it on its expedition hardly anything besides its arms. But in the very course of the march the column had been enlarged by volunteers; for not only did old soldiers who had already completed their service offer themselves of their own motion, but also young men who had vied with each other in giving in their names and whom Claudius had enrolled whenever their physical appearance and sound condition seemed suitable for military service. The other consul's camp was near Sena,<sup>4</sup> and about five hundred paces away was Hasdrubal. Accordingly, as he was now approaching, Nero came to a halt under cover of the hills, in order not to enter the camp before night. Silently they entered, each man being led to his tent by one of the same rank, and they were hospitably welcomed with great

<sup>4</sup> Modern Senigallia (or Sinigaglia), directly on the sea, but with no harbour. 15 miles beyond (north-west) was the mouth of the river Metaurus, and at Fanum, less than two miles farther on, the Via Flaminia, coming from Ariminum, turned inland up the valley of the river and went on its way over the Apennines. No sufficient reason has been given for disputing Livy's statement that the camps were near Sena, as do some of the critics. See pp. 396 f., note.

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die consilium habitum, cui et L. Porcius Licinus  
 6 praetor adfuit. Castra iuncta consulum castris  
 habebat, et ante adventum eorum per loca alta  
 ducendo exercitum, cum modo insideret angustos  
 saltus, ut transitum clauderet, modo ab latere aut  
 ab tergo carperet agmen, ludificatus hostem omnibus  
 7 artibus belli fuerat; is tum in consilio aderat. Mul-  
 torum eo inclinant<sup>1</sup> sententiae ut, dum fessum via  
 ac vigiliis reficeret militem Nero, simul et ad noscen-  
 dum hostem paucos sibi sumeret dies, tempus pugnae<sup>2</sup>  
 8 differretur. Nero non suadere modo, sed summa ope  
 orare institit ne consilium suum, quod tutum celeritas  
 9 fecisset, temerarium morando facerent; errore, qui  
 non diuturnus futurus esset, velut torpentem Hanni-  
 balem nec castra sua sine duce relicta adgredi nec  
 ad sequendum se iter intendisse. Antequam se  
 moveat, deleri exercitum Hasdrubalis posse rediri-  
 10 que<sup>3</sup> in Apuliam. Qui prolatando spatium hosti det, eum  
 et illa castra prodere Hannibali et aperire in Galliam  
 iter, ut per otium ubi velit Hasdrubali coniungatur.  
 11 Extemplo signum dandum et exeundum in aciem  
 abutendumque errore hostium absentium praesenti-  
 umque, dum neque illi sciant cum paucioribus nec  
 12 hi cum pluribus et validioribus rem esse. Consilio

<sup>1</sup> inclinant P(1)NJK Conway: -abant x Aldus, Froben, Eds.

<sup>2</sup> pugnae P(1)N Aldus, Eds.: pugnandi Sp?N?JK Conway.

<sup>3</sup> -que, before this P(1)N om. two lines (exercitum . . . rediri) found (with redireque) in A?N?JK; corrected by Gronovius.

<sup>1</sup> But he had been unable appreciably to retard Hasdrubal's southward march.

general rejoicing. On the next day a council of war B.C. 207 was held, at which Lucius Porcius Licinus, the praetor, was present. His camp adjoined that of the consuls, and before their arrival he had baffled the enemy by all the arts of war, leading his army on high ground, while at one time he would occupy a narrow pass, to block their way, at another would make sudden attacks upon the column from the flank or the rear.<sup>1</sup> And now he was present at the council. The opinions of many inclined in the direction of postponing the time for battle, until Nero should refresh his troops, worn by the march and lack of sleep, and at the same time should take a few days to acquaint himself with the enemy. But Nero began not merely to urge, but by all means also to implore them not to make his plan, which rapid movement had made safe, a reckless plan by delaying. It was by a deception which would not last long, he said, that Hannibal, as though dazed, was not attacking his camp, left without its commander, and had not set his army in motion to pursue him; that before Hannibal should bestir himself, they could destroy Hasdrubal's army and return to Apulia. Whoever by delaying gave the enemy time, was betraying the distant camp to Hannibal, at the same time opening the way into Gaul, so that unmolested he might join Hasdrubal whenever he pleased. At once, he said, the signal must be given and they must go out into battle-line and take advantage of the deception of their enemies, both the distant and those near at hand, while the one army was unaware that it had to do with smaller numbers, and the other that it had to deal with larger and stronger forces. Dismissing the council they raised

## LIVY

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dimisso signum pugnae proponitur, confestimque in aciem procedunt.

XLVII. Iam hostes ante castra instructi stabant. Moram pugnae attulit quod Hasdrubal, proventus ante signa cum paucis equitibus, scuta vetera hostium notavit, quae ante non viderat, et strigosiores equos; 2 multitudo quoque maior solita visa est. Suspiciatus enim id quod erat, receptui propere cecinit ac misit ad flumen unde aquabantur, ubi et excipi aliqui possent et notari oculis, si qui forte adustioris coloris 3 ut ex recenti via essent; simul circumvehi procul castra iubet specularique num auctum aliqua parte sit vallum, et ut attendant semel bisne signum canat 4 in castris. Ea cum ordine omnia relata<sup>1</sup> essent, castra nihil aucta errorem faciebant; bina erant, sicut ante adventum consulis alterius fuerant, una M. Livi, altera L. Porci; neutris quicquam quo 5 latius tenderetur ad munimenta adiectum. Illud veterem ducem adsuetumque Romano hosti movit quod semel in praetoriis castris signum, bis in consularibus referebant cecinisse. Duos profecto consules esse,<sup>2</sup> et quonam modo alter ab Hannibale 6 abcessisset cura angebat. Minime id quod erat suspicari poterat, tantae rei frustratione Hannibalem elusum, ut ubi dux, ubi exercitus esset cum quo

<sup>1</sup> omnia relata *A<sup>1</sup>J Aldus, Froben*: relata omnia *N<sup>1</sup>K Conway*: *P(1)N om. relata.*

<sup>2</sup> Duos profecto consules esse *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P(1)N, one line.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zonaras IX. ix. 8. At supper-time the trumpets regularly sounded outside the general's tent as a signal to post the guards for the night; so Polybius XIV. iii. 6.

the signal for battle and forthwith went out into battle-line.

XLVII. Already the enemy were standing in line before the camp. Delay in beginning the battle was due to Hasdrubal, in that, riding out in front of the standards with a few horsemen, he observed among the enemy old shields which he had not seen before and very lean horses; and he thought the numbers also larger than was usual. For, suspecting what had happened, he promptly sounded the recall and sent men to the river from which the Romans were drawing water, that some Romans might be captured there and scanned to see whether any chanced to be more sunburned, as though from a recent march. At the same time he ordered men to ride round the camps at a distance, and to notice whether the earthworks had been somewhere enlarged, and to mark whether the trumpet sounded once in the camp or twice.<sup>1</sup> All this having been duly reported, the fact that the camps had not been enlarged deceived him. There were two of them, as there had been before the coming of the second consul, one that of Marcus Livius, the other that of Lucius Porcius. In neither case had anything been added to the fortifications to give ampler space for the tents. The one thing that impressed an experienced general and one accustomed to a Roman enemy was their report that the trumpet had sounded once in the praetor's camp, twice in the consul's. There surely were two consuls, he thought, and sadly concerned he was how the one had got away from Hannibal. Least of all could he suspect the fact—that Hannibal had been baffled and baulked to such an extent that he did not know where was the

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- 7 castra conlata<sup>1</sup> habuerit<sup>2</sup> ignoraret; profecto haud mediocri clade absterritum insequi non ausum; magno opere vereri ne perditis rebus serum ipse auxilium venisset Romanisque eadem iam fortuna in  
8 Italia quae in Hispania esset. Interdum litteras suas ad eum non pervenisse credere, interceptisque iis consulem ad sese opprimendum adcelerasse. His anxius curis, extinctis ignibus, vigilia prima dato signo ut taciti vasa colligerent, signa ferri iussit.  
9 In trepidatione et nocturno tumultu duces parum intente adservati, alter in destinatis iam ante animo latebris subsedit, alter per vada nota Metaurum flumen tranavit. Ita desertum ab ducibus agmen primo per agros palatur, fessique aliquot somno ac vigiliis sternunt corpora passim atque infrequentia  
10 relinquunt signa. Hasdrubal, dum lux viam ostenderet, ripa fluminis<sup>3</sup> signa ferri iubet, et per tortuosi amnis sinus flexusque cum errorem<sup>4</sup> volvens haud multum processisset, substitit,<sup>5</sup> ubi prima lux transi-

<sup>1</sup> conlata *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: coniuncta *A<sup>2</sup>J Conway*: iuncta *K*.

<sup>2</sup> habuerit *P(1)N Aldus, Conway*: haberet *SpJK Froben 2, Luchs*.

<sup>3</sup> ripa fluminis *A<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>4</sup> errorem *P(3)(C<sup>2</sup>)*: errore *C<sup>2</sup>?DANSp<sup>2</sup>JK Aldus*: orbem *Weissenborn conj.*: errore iter re- *Riemann*: iter errore re- *M. Müller*.

<sup>5</sup> substitit *Sartorius, Madvig*: om. *MSS., Weissenborn, Conway*.

<sup>1</sup> The right (south) bank must be meant. Had Hasdrubal been on the left bank the treachery of his guides would have been of no consequence. For he would simply have followed the Flaminian Way. Livy represents them as vainly seeking for a road; therefore they were on the south side of the Metaurus. Polybius' narrative at this point has not been preserved. It resumes with the battle formation (XI. i. 2).

general, where was the army with which his camp B.C. 207 was formerly in contact. Surely he had been deterred by no common disaster, and had not dared to pursue. Hasdrubal greatly feared that after all was lost he had himself come too late to assist, and that the Romans would have the same good fortune in Italy as in Spain. At times he believed his own letter had not reached Hannibal, and that the consul, upon intercepting it, had made haste, in order to overpower him. Troubled by these anxieties, he had the fires put out and orders given at the first watch that they should pack up their baggage in silence, and then he commanded the standards to advance. In the excitement and confusion of the night the guides were not closely watched, and one of them settled himself in a hiding-place he had previously determined upon, while the other swam across the river Metaurus, using a shallow place known to him. So the column, deserted by its guides, wandered at first about the country, and a considerable number, overcome by drowsiness and lack of sleep, threw themselves down anywhere and left few men with the standards. Hasdrubal ordered the standard-bearers to move along the bank of the river,<sup>1</sup> until daylight should disclose a road. And having made little progress, while describing blind circles along the bends and curves of the twisting stream he halted, intending to cross the river as

Cf. Frontinus I. i. 9; Zonaras IX. ix. 7-12; Appian *Hann.* 52; Valerius Max. VII. iv. 4; Kromayer and Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder* III. 1. esp. 456 ff. and maps; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* III. 2. 491 ff. and 562 ff., but he places the battle on the left bank and the camps at the mouth of the river, instead of near Sena. The left bank is preferred by the *Cambridge Ancient History* also (VIII. 94 f.).



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11 tum opportunum ostendisset, transiturus.<sup>1</sup> Sed cum quantum a mari abscedebat, tanto altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis non inveniret vada, diem terendo spatium dedit ad insequendum sese hosti.

XLVIII. Nero primum cum omni equitatu advenit, Porcius deinde adsecutus cum levi armatura.  
2 Qui cum fessum agmen carperent ab omni parte incursarentque, et iam omisso itinere quod fugae simile erat, castra metari Poenus in tumulo super  
3 fluminis ripam vellet, advenit Livius peditum omnibus copiis non itineris modo, sed ad conserendum  
4 extemplo proelium instructis armatisque. Sed ubi omnes copias coniunxerunt directaque<sup>2</sup> acies est, Claudius dextro in cornu, Livius ab sinistro pugnam  
5 instruit; media acies praetori tuenda data. Hasdrubal omissa munitione castrorum postquam pugnandum vidit, in prima acie ante signa elephantos locat<sup>3</sup>; circa eos laevo in cornu adversus Claudium Gallos opponit, haud tantum iis fidens quantum ab hoste  
6 timeri eos credebatur; ipse dextrum cornu adversus M. Livium sibi atque Hispanis—et ibi maxime in  
7 vetere milite spem habebat—sumpsit; Ligures in medio post elephantos positi. Sed longior quam latior acies erat; Gallos prominens collis tegebat.  
8 Ea frons quam Hispani tenebant cum sinistro Romanorum cornu concurrat; dextra omnis acies

<sup>1</sup> transiturus, *Sp?A\*N\*JKz Conway, M. Müller add erat (om. by P(1)N Madvig).*

<sup>2</sup> directaque *R<sup>2</sup>MBDAJK Madvig, Conway: directaque PCRN.*

<sup>3</sup> locat *SpJK Froben 2, Luchs: conlocat P(1)N Aldus.*

<sup>1</sup> So Polybius XI. i. 5, who makes no mention of Porcius.

<sup>2</sup> 10 in number and in the centre, Polybius § 3; 15 according to Appian *Hann.* 52.

soon as daylight should show a favourable crossing. B.C. 207  
But inasmuch as the farther he marched away from the sea the higher were the banks that confined the stream, and hence he could not find a ford, by wasting the day he gave the enemy time to overtake him.

XLVIII. First Nero with all the cavalry arrived, then Porcius with the light-armed caught up with them. And while they made skirmishing attacks from every side and charged the weary column, and the Carthaginian, now abandoning a march which resembled a flight, was aiming to lay out a camp on the hill above the bank of the river, came Livius with all the infantry forces, not in marching order, but formed and armed to begin the battle at once. But after they had combined all their troops and the line had been drawn up, Claudius on the right wing,<sup>1</sup> Livius on the left, prepared for battle, while the command of the centre was assigned to the praetor. Hasdrubal, on seeing that he must fight, ceased fortifying his camp and placed his elephants in the front line before the standards. Flanking the elephants,<sup>2</sup> on the left wing he placed the Gauls facing Claudius—not so much that he trusted them, as that he believed the enemy was afraid of them. The right wing facing Marcus Livius he took for himself and his Spanish troops, and above all he rested his hopes on these veteran soldiers.<sup>3</sup> The Ligurians were placed in the centre behind the elephants. But the battle-line was deep rather than widely extended. A projecting hill shielded the Gauls. That part of the front which the Spaniards held clashed with the left wing of the Romans, whose

<sup>3</sup> Polybius puts Hasdrubal in the centre, but makes him attack the Roman left wing; §§ 3–5.

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- extra proelium eminens cessabat; collis oppositus arcebat ne aut a fronte aut ab latere adgrederentur.
- 9 Inter Livium Hasdrubalemque ingens contractum certamen erat, atroxque caedes utrimque edebatur.
- 10 Ibi duces ambo, ibi pars maior peditum equitumque Romanorum, ibi Hispani, vetus miles peritusque Romanae pugnae, et Ligures, durum in armis genus. Eodem versi elephantanti, qui primo impetu turbaverant
- 11 antesignanos et iam signa moverant loco; deinde crescente certamine et clamore inpotentius iam regi et inter duas acies versari, velut incerti quorum essent, haud dissimiliter navibus sine gubernaculo
- 12 vagis. Claudius "Quid ergo praecipiti cursu tam longum iter emensi sumus?" clamitans militibus, cum in adversum collem frustra signa erigere conatus
- 13 esset, postquam ea regione penetrari ad hostem non videbat posse, cohortes aliquot subductas e dextro cornu, ubi stationem magis segnem quam pugnam
- 14 futuram cernebat, post aciem circumducit et non hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in dextrum<sup>1</sup> hostium latus incurrit; tantaque celeritas fuit ut, cum ostendissent se ab latere, mox in terga
- 15 iam pugnarent. Ita ex omnibus partibus, ab fronte, ab latere, ab tergo, trucidantur Hispani Liguresque,

<sup>1</sup> dextrum *Glareanus, Eds.*: sistrum *PRM*: sinistrum *P<sup>4</sup>(3)NJK Aldus, Froben, Conway (who assumes omission of a line, evectus in dextrum, following this).*

<sup>1</sup> Since Livius outranks Nero, he is here thought of as commander-in-chief.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e. hastati and principes*, after which came the standards.

whole right wing extended beyond the fighting and A.C. 207 had nothing to do. The hill facing them prevented them from attacking either in front or on the flank.

Between Livius and Hasdrubal a mighty battle had begun, and a savage slaughter on both sides was in progress. There both generals<sup>1</sup> were engaged, there the greater part of the Roman infantry and cavalry, there the Spanish troops, the old soldiers, acquainted also with the Roman mode of fighting, and the Ligurians, a hardy race of warriors. To the same place came the elephants, which had thrown the front lines<sup>2</sup> into confusion by their first charge and had by this time forced the standards back. Then as the conflict and the shouting increased, they were no longer under control and roamed about between the two battle-lines,<sup>3</sup> as though uncertain to whom they belonged, not unlike ships drifting without their steering-oars. Claudius shouted to his soldiers, "Why then have we covered so long a march at headlong speed?" and endeavoured without success to lead his line up the hill. Thereupon, after discovering that they could not get to the enemy in that direction, he drew off a number of cohorts from the right wing, where he saw that they would be standing idly by instead of fighting. He led them round behind the battle-line,<sup>4</sup> and to the surprise not only of the enemy, but also of his own troops, charged into the enemy's right flank. And such was his speed that, soon after showing themselves on the flank, they were already attacking the rear. Thus from all sides, front, flank, rear, the Spaniards and Ligurians

<sup>2</sup> Polybius stresses the confusion caused in both armies by the elephants; § 9.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e. of the Romans*; cf. Polybius §§ 7, 10 f.

16 et ad Gallos iam caedes pervenerat. Ibi minimum certaminis fuit; nam et pars magna ab signis aberant, nocte dilapsi stratique somno passim per agros, et qui aderant, itinere ac vigiliis fessi, intolerantissima 17 laboris corpora, vix arma umeris gestabant;<sup>1</sup> et iam diei medium erat, sitisque et calor hiantes caedendos capiendosque adfatim praebebat.

XLIX. Elephanti plures ab ipsis rectoribus quam ab hoste interfecti. Fabrile scalprum cum malleo habebant; id, ubi saevire beluae ac ruere in suos coeperant, magister inter aures positum, ipso in articulo quo<sup>2</sup> iungitur capiti cervix, quanto maximo 2 poterat ictu adigebat. Ea celerrima via mortis in tantae molis belua inventa erat, ubi regendi spem vicissent,<sup>3</sup> primusque id Hasdrubal instituerat, dux cum saepe alias memorabilis, tum illa praecipue 3 pugna. Ille pugnantes hortando pariterque obeundo pericula sustinuit; ille fessos abnuentesque taedio et labore nunc precando nunc castigando accendit; ille fugientes revocavit omissamque pugnam aliquot 4 locis restituit; postremo, cum haud dubie fortuna hostium esset, ne superstes tanto exercitui suum nomen secuto esset, concitato equo se in cohortem

<sup>1</sup> gestabant *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*: gerebant *SpJK Froben 2, Conway*.

<sup>2</sup> ipso in articulo quo *P(1) Eds.*: same om. quo *N*: ipsa in compage qua *N\*JK Aldus, Froben, Conway*.

<sup>3</sup> regendi spem vicissent *SpJA\*N\*JK Froben 2, Johnson* (with vi vicissent *N\* Conway*): regendis pervicissent *P(1)(A?)N*: regentis sprevisissent *Weissenborn* (with regentis imperium *M. Müller*).

<sup>1</sup> Indians, *id.* XI. i. 12 (six elephants killed, four captured).

were slain, and the slaughter had now reached the B.C. 207 Gauls. At that point there was the least fighting; for a large proportion of them were not with the standards, having slipped away in the night and lying asleep scattered over the fields. And further, those who were present, being exhausted by marching and lack of sleep, lousy, but utterly lacking in endurance, could scarcely carry their arms on their shoulders. And now it was midday, and thirst and heat exposed the gasping men to unlimited slaughter or capture.

XLIX. More of the elephants were slain by their own drivers<sup>1</sup> than by the enemy. These used to have a carpenter's chisel and a mallet. When the beasts began to grow wild and to dash into their own men, the keeper would place the chisel between the ears, precisely at the joint which connects the neck with the head, and would drive it in with all possible force. That had been found to be the quickest means of death<sup>2</sup> in a brute of such size, when they got beyond the hope of control. And the first man to introduce the practice had been Hasdrubal, a general who was often notable at other times, but pre-eminently in that battle. It was he that by encouraging them and sharing the same dangers sustained his men in battle; he that fired them, now by entreating, now by upbraiding, the exhausted and those who because of weariness and over-exertion were giving up; he that recalled those who tried to flee and at not a few points revived the battle they were abandoning. Finally, when fortune unquestionably was on the enemy's side, in order not to survive so large an army that had followed his fame, he spurred his horse and

<sup>2</sup> This discovery is not mentioned by Polybius.

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Romanam inmisit. Ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale fratre dignum erat, pugnans cecidit.  
 5 Numquam eo bello una acie tantum hostium interfectum est, redditaque aequa Cannensi clades vel  
 6 ducis vel exercitus interitu videbatur. Quinquaginta sex<sup>1</sup> milia hostium occisa, capta quinque milia et quadringenti; magna praeda alia cum omnis generis,  
 7 tum auri etiam argentique. Civium etiam Romanorum qui capti apud hostes erant supra quattuor milia<sup>2</sup> capitum recepta. Id solacii fuit pro amissis eo proelio militibus. Nam haudquaquam incruenta victoria fuit: octo ferme milia Romanorum socio-  
 8 rumque occisa; adeoque etiam victores sanguinis caedisque ceperat satias<sup>3</sup> ut postero die, cum esset nuntiatum Livio consuli Gallos Cisalpinos Liguresque, qui aut proelio non adfuissent aut inter caedem effugissent, uno agmine abire sine certo duce, sine signis, sine ordine ullo aut imperio; posse,<sup>4</sup> si una  
 9 equitum ala mittatur, omnes deleri: "Quin<sup>5</sup> supersint" inquit<sup>6</sup> "aliqui nuntii et hostium cladis et nostrae virtutis."

<sup>1</sup> sex P(1)N Aldus, Froben, Eds.: septem A<sup>1</sup>JK Conway.

<sup>2</sup> quattuor milia A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus, Froben: tria milia (in numerals PC) Madvig: corrupted into xxx or xxx in other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> satias Sp Froben 2 (cf. XXV. xxiii. 16): satietas P(3)NJK Aldus.

<sup>4</sup> posse P(1)N Aldus, Froben: after mittatur A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK.

<sup>5</sup> deleri: Quin Gronovius, Eds., Conway: delerique (or qui) P(1)(A<sup>1</sup>)N: deleri A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JKz Johnson.

<sup>6</sup> inquit A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK: om. P(1)N.

<sup>1</sup> Polybius pays a high tribute to Hasdrubal as a general and as a man; XI. ii.

charged into a Roman cohort. There, in a manner B.C. 207 worthy of his father Hamilcar and of Hannibal his brother, he fell fighting.<sup>1</sup>

Never in a single battle of that war were so many of the enemy slain, and a disaster equal to that of Cannae, whether in the loss of the general or that of an army, seemed to have been inflicted in return. Fifty-six thousand<sup>2</sup> of the enemy were slain, fifty-four hundred captured. Great was the rest of the booty, both of every kind and of gold and silver as well. In addition, Roman citizens—over four thousand of them—who as captives were in the hands of the enemy were recovered. This was some compensation for the soldiers lost in the battle. For the victory was by no means bloodless. About eight thousand Romans and allies were slain, and to such an extent were even the victors sated with bloodshed and slaughter that on the next day, when word was brought to Livius, the consul, that the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who either had not been present in the battle, or had escaped in the midst of the carnage, were moving away in one column, with no trustworthy guide, no standards, no formation or high command, that they all could be wiped out, if a single regiment of cavalry should be sent, the consul said, "No! let there be some survivors, to carry the news both of the enemy's disaster and of our valour."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Livy's high figures for the losses on both sides (cf. § 7) must be contrasted with those of the Greek historian—10,000 and 2,000 respectively; oh. iii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Livy omits mention of a temple to Inventas vowed on this day by Livius. It was dedicated in 191 B.C.; XXXVI. xxxvi. 5 f. The date of the battle was 23rd June; Ovid *Fasts* VI. 769 f.

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L. Nero ea nocte quae secuta est pugnam profectus in Apuliam <sup>1</sup> citatiore quam inde venerat agmine die sexto ad stativa sua atque ad <sup>2</sup> hostem pervenit. 2 Iter eius frequentia minore, quia nemo <sup>3</sup> praecesserat nuntius, laetitia vero tanta vix ut compotes mentium <sup>3</sup> prae gaudio essent celebratum est. Nam Romae neuter animi habitus satis dici enarrarique potest, nec quo incerta expectatione eventus civitas fuerat, <sup>4</sup> nec quo victoriae famam accepit. Numquam per omnis dies, ex quo Claudium consulem profectum fama attulit, ab orto sole ad occidentem aut senator quisquam a curia atque ab magistratibus abscessit aut <sup>5</sup> populus e <sup>4</sup> foro. Matronae, quia nihil in ipsis opis erat, in preces obtestationesque versae, per omnia delubra vagae suppliciiis votisque fatigare <sup>5</sup> deos. <sup>6</sup> Tam sollicitae ac suspensae civitati fama incerta primo accidit duos Narnienses equites in castra quae in faucibus Umbriae opposita erant venisse ex <sup>7</sup> proelio nuntiantes caesos hostes. Et primo magis auribus quam animis id acceptum erat, ut maius laetiusque quam quod mente capere aut satis credere possent; et ipsa celeritas fidem impediabat, quod <sup>8</sup> biduo ante pugnatum dicebatur. Litterae deinde ab L. Manlio Acidino missae ex castris adferuntur <sup>9</sup> de Narniensium equitum adventu. Hae litterae per

<sup>1</sup> profectus in Apuliam *Roszbach, Conway*: om. *P(1)NJK*, one line: profectus *Sartorius, Eds.*: regressus *Madvig*.

<sup>2</sup> ad *N<sup>o</sup>JK Aldus, Froben*: om. *P(1)N*.

<sup>3</sup> quia nemo *P(1)N Aldus, Eds.*: nemo enim *Sp<sup>o</sup>JK Froben 2, Conway*.

<sup>4</sup> e *P(1)N Aldus, Froben 2*: om. *Sp<sup>o</sup>JK*.

<sup>5</sup> fatigare *P(1)N Aldus*: -avere *Sp<sup>o</sup>N<sup>o</sup>JK Froben 2*.

L. Nero on the night following the battle set out B.C. 207 for Apulia, and with a column moving more rapidly than when he had come from that region, reached his permanent camp and the enemy on the sixth day. His march was attended by smaller throngs, because no messenger had come in advance, but by rejoicing so great that people were almost beside themselves for joy. At Rome, of course, neither state of feeling can be sufficiently described and set forth, neither that in which the city had waited in suspense for the outcome, nor that in which it heard news of the victory. Not once in all the days since it was first reported that Claudius, the consul, had set out did a senator leave the Senate House and the magistrates from sunrise to sunset, nor did the people leave the Forum. The matrons, being in themselves unable to help, resorted to prayers and supplications, and wandering from one to another of all the temples, importuned the gods with entreaties and vows. While the city was in a state of such anxiety and suspense, came first a vague rumour that two horsemen of Narnia, coming from the battle, had reached the camp which had been placed to guard the gateway of Umbria,<sup>1</sup> reporting that the enemy had been cut to pieces. And at first men had heard it, rather than taken it in, as something too great and too joyous for them to grasp and quite believe. And the promptness was in itself an obstacle to belief, in that the battle was said to have been fought but two days before. Then came a letter sent by Lucius Manlius Acidinus from the camp in regard to the arrival of the Narnian horsemen. This letter, carried through the

<sup>1</sup> The pass of Furlo, Intercisa of the Itineraries; cf. *xlili. 9*.

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forum ad tribunal praetoris latae senatum curia<sup>1</sup> exciverunt; tantoque certamine ac tumultu populi ad fores curiae concursus est ut adire nuntius non posset, sed traheretur a percunctantibus vociferantibusque ut in rostris prius quam in senatu litterae recitarentur. Tandem summoti et coerciti a magistratibus, dispensarique laetitia inter inpotentes eius animos potuit. In senatu primum, deinde in contione litterae recitatae sunt; et pro cuiusque ingenio aliis iam certum gaudium, aliis nulla ante futura fides erat quam legatos consulumve litteras audissent.

LI. Ipsos deinde adpropinquare legatos adlatum est. Tunc enim omnis aetas currere obvii,<sup>2</sup> primus quisque oculis auribusque haurire tantum gaudium cupientes. Ad Mulvium usque pontem continens agmen pervenit. Legati—erant L. Veturius Philo, P. Licinius Varus, Q. Caecilius Metellus—circumfusi omnis generis hominum frequentia in forum pervenerunt, cum alii ipsos, alii comites eorum quae acta essent<sup>3</sup> percunctarentur. Et ut quisque audierat exercitum hostium imperatoremque occisum, legiones Romanas incolumes, salvos consules esse, extemplo aliis porro impertiebant gaudium suum. Cum aegre in curiam perventum esset,<sup>4</sup> multo aegrius summoti turba, ne patribus misceretur, litterae in senatu recitatae sunt. Inde traducti in

<sup>1</sup> curia P(1)N Aldus, Froben: in curiam N'JK.

<sup>2</sup> obvii P(1)(A?)N Aldus: obviam Sp?A'JK Froben 2.

<sup>3</sup> essent P(1)N Aldus: sint Sp?JK Froben 2.

<sup>4</sup> perventum esset P(1)N Aldus: -venissent Sp?JK Froben 2.

<sup>1</sup> Until Gaius Hostilius could make his way to the Curia there could be no session of the senate.

Forum to the tribunal of the praetor,<sup>1</sup> brought the senate out of the Curia. And with such rivalry and disorder did the people rush up to the doors of the Curia that the messenger could not get near, but was jostled by men asking questions and shouting that the letter should be read from the Rostra before the reading in the senate. Finally the rioters were pushed aside and restrained by magistrates, and the joy could be successively imparted to men unable to contain it. The letter was read in the senate first, then in the assembly; and, according to each man's temperament, some felt a delight already well founded, others would have no assurance until they should hear the emissaries or a letter from the consuls.

LI. Next came word that the emissaries themselves were approaching. Then in truth all ages ran to meet them, everyone eager to be the first to take in a joy so great with eyes and ears. An unbroken column reached all the way to the Mulvian Bridge. The emissaries, who were Lucius Veturius Philo, Publius Licinius Varus and Quintus Caecilius Metellus, beset by a crowd of men of every class made their way into the Forum, while some were questioning the emissaries themselves, some their companions, as to what had happened. And whenever a man heard that the army of the enemy and their general had been slain, that the Roman legions were intact, the consuls safe, forthwith he would share his delight with others. After they had made their way with difficulty into the Senate House and with much more difficulty the crowd had been pushed aside, so as not to mingle with the senators, the letter was read in the senate. Then the emissaries were led over into the

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## LIVY

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- 6 contionem legati. L. Veturius litteris recitatis, ipse planius omnia quae acta erant exposuit cum ingenti adsensu, postremo etiam clamore universae  
 7 contionis, cum vix gaudium animis caperent. Discursum inde ab aliis circa templa deum, ut grates agerent, ab aliis domos, ut coniugibus liberisque tam  
 8 laetum nuntium impertirent. Senatus quod M. Livius et C. Claudius consules incolumi exercitu ducem hostium legionesque occidissent, supplicationem in triduum decrevit. Eam supplicationem C. Hostilius praetor pro contione<sup>1</sup> edixit, celebrataque a viris feminisque est. Omnia<sup>2</sup> templa per totum triduum aequalem turbam habuere, cum matronae amplissima veste cum liberis, perinde ac si debellatum foret, omni solutae metu deis immortalibus grates agerent. Statum quoque civitatis ea victoria movit, ut iam<sup>3</sup> inde haud secus quam in pace res inter se contrahere vendendo, emendo, mutuum dando<sup>4</sup> argentum creditumque<sup>5</sup> solvendo auderent.
- 11 C. Claudius consul cum in castra redisset, caput Hasdrubalis, quod servatum cum cura attulerat, proici ante hostium stationes, captivosque Afros vinctos ut erant ostendi, duos etiam ex iis solutos ire ad Hannibalem et expromere quae acta essent iussit.

<sup>1</sup> pro contione *A<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus: om. P(1)N.*<sup>2</sup> Omnia *P(1)N Aldus: omniaque N<sup>1</sup>JK Froben 2.*<sup>3</sup> victoria movit ut iam *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus: victoriam P(1)N.*<sup>4</sup> emendo, mutuum dando *A<sup>1</sup>N<sup>1</sup>JK Aldus: om. P(1)N, one line.*<sup>5</sup> creditumque *SpA<sup>1</sup>?J Froben 2: creditum P(1) NK Aldus.*<sup>1</sup> I.e. across the Comitium to the Rostra.<sup>2</sup> And the once dreaded Hannibal seemed no longer to be in Italy (Polybius XI. iii. 6).

assembly.<sup>1</sup> Lucius Veturius, after the reading of the letter, himself set forth more clearly everything that had been done, with great approval and finally even shouting from the entire assembly, since they were barely able to contain their joy. Then some hastened to one temple of the gods after another to return thanks, others to their homes, to share news so joyous with wives and children. The senate decreed that, whereas Marcus Livius and Gaius Claudius, the consuls, with their army safe, had slain the general and legions of the enemy, there should be a thanksgiving for three days. This thanksgiving was proclaimed before an assembly by Gaius Hostilius, the praetor, and observed by men and women. All the temples were uniformly crowded for all three days, while the matrons in their richest garments, together with their children, being relieved of every fear, just as if the war were already finished,<sup>2</sup> returned thanks to the immortal gods. Even the financial situation of the state was changed by that victory, so that from that time on, just as if in peace, they ventured to carry on business with one another, selling and buying, lending money and repaying loans.

Gaius Claudius, the consul, having returned to his camp, ordered the head of Hasdrubal, which he had kept with care and brought with him, to be thrown in front of the enemy's outposts,<sup>3</sup> and that captured Africans should be displayed, as they were, in chains; furthermore that two of them, released from bonds, should go to Hannibal and relate to him what

<sup>1</sup> For parallel examples v. Pais' list in *Guerre Punique* II. 452. Contrast in Hannibal's favour xxviii. 1 *fin.* and XXV. xvii. 4-7.

- A.U.C. 547 12 Hannibal, tanto simul publico familiarique ictus luctu,  
agnoscere se fortunam Carthaginis fertur dixisse;  
13 castrisque inde motis, ut omnia auxilia quae diffusa  
latius tueri non poterat in extremum Italiae angulum  
Bruttios contraheret, et Metapontinos, civitatem  
universam, excitos sedibus suis, et Lucanorum qui  
suae dicionis erant in Bruttium agrum traduxit.

had happened. Hannibal, under the blow of so great a sorrow, at once public and intimate, is reported to have said that he recognized the destiny of Carthage. And moving his camp away, with the intention to concentrate in that most distant part of Italy, the land of the Bruttii, all the forces which he was unable to defend if widely scattered, he removed the whole body of citizens of Metapontum, whom he had summoned to leave their homes,<sup>1</sup> and such Lucanians also as were subject to him, into the Bruttian country.

<sup>1</sup> As Metapontum was close to the border of Apulia and dangerously near Tarentum; cf. XXV. xv. 6.



## LIBRI XXVII PERIOCHA

Cn. Fulvius proconsul cum exercitu ab Hannibale ad Herdoneam caesus est. Meliore eventu ab Claudio Marcello consule adversus eundem ad Numistronem pugnatum est. Inde Hannibal nocte recessit; Marcellus insecutus est et subinde cedentem pressit, donec confugeret. Priore pugna Hannibal superior, sequenti Marcellus. Fabius Maximus pater consul Tarentinos per prodicionem recepit. Claudius Marcellus T. Quinctius Crispinus consules, speculandi causa progressi e castris, insidiis ab Hannibale circumventi sunt. Marcellus occisus, Crispinus fugit. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt civium capita CXXXVII CVIII; ex quo numero apparuit quantum hominum tot proeliorum adversa fortuna populo Romano abstulisset. In Hispania ad Baeculam Scipio cum Hasdrubale et Hamilcare conflixit et vicit. Inter alia captum regalem puerum eximiae formae ad avunculum Masinissam cum donis dimisit. Hasdrubal, qui cum exercitu novo Alpes transcenderat, ut se Hannibali iungeret, cum milibus hominum LVI caesus est, capta VCCCC M. Livi consulis ductu, sed non minore opera Claudii Neronis consulis, qui, cum Hannibali oppositus esset, relictis castris ita ut hostem falleret, cum electa manu profectus Hasdrubalem circumvenerat. Res praeterea feliciter a P. Scipione in Hispania et a P. Sulpicio praetore adversus Philipum et Achaeos gestas continet.

## SUMMARY OF BOOK XXVII

Gnaeus Fulvius, the proconsul, was slain with his army by Hannibal near Herdonea. With a happier outcome a battle was fought by Claudius Marcellus, the consul, against the same commander near Numistro. Hannibal thereupon withdrew by night. Marcellus pursued him and repeatedly bore heavily on him as he retreated, until he engaged. In the first battle Hannibal was the winner, Marcellus in the second. Fabius Maximus the father, as consul, recovered Tarentum by treachery. Claudius Marcellus and Titus Quinctius Crispinus, the consuls, having advanced from the camp to reconnoitre, were overpowered by Hannibal in an ambush. Marcellus was slain, Crispinus escaped. The ceremony of purification was completed by the censors. Listed in the census were 137,108 citizens, from which number it was evident how many men the unfavourable fortune of so many battles had carried off from the Roman people. In Spain Scipio engaged with Hasdrubal and Hamilcar<sup>1</sup> near Baecula and was victorious. A boy of royal birth and remarkable beauty, who had been captured with the rest of the spoils, was sent away to his maternal uncle Masinissa by Scipio with gifts. Hasdrubal, who with a fresh army had crossed the Alps to unite with Hannibal, was slain with 56,000 men, and 5,400 were captured, under the command of Marcus Livius, the consul, but with no smaller share borne by Claudius Nero, the consul, who, after being assigned to confront Hannibal, had left his camp in such a way as to escape the enemy's notice, had set out with a picked force and overpowered Hasdrubal. The book contains in addition the operations successfully carried on by Publius Scipio in Spain and by Publius Sulpicius, the praetor, against Philip and the Achaeans.

<sup>1</sup> An obvious error.

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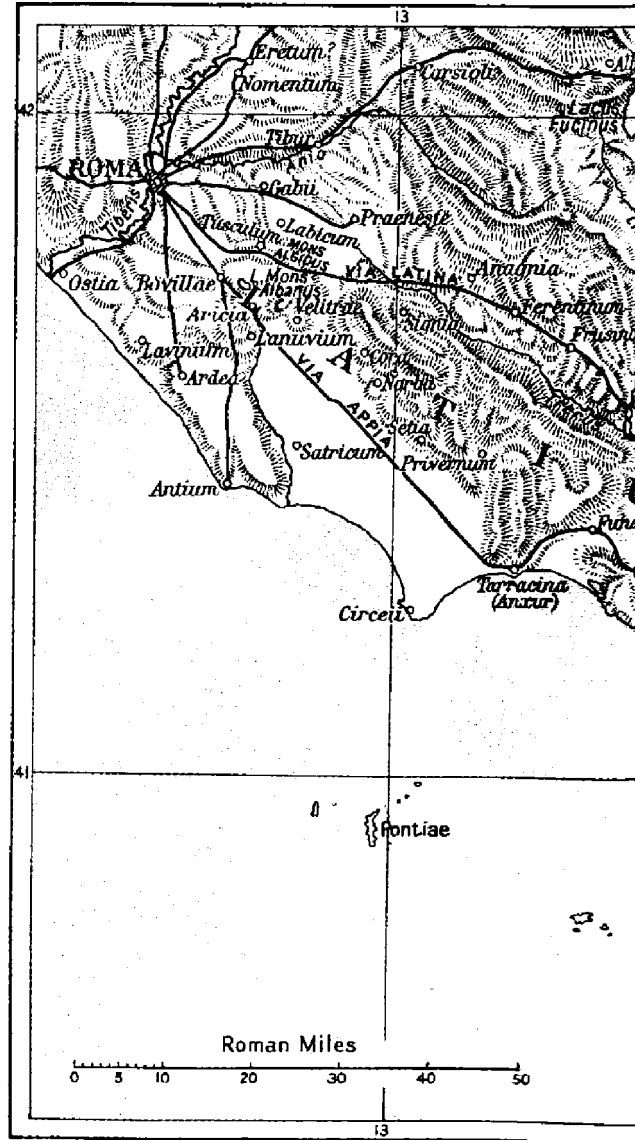
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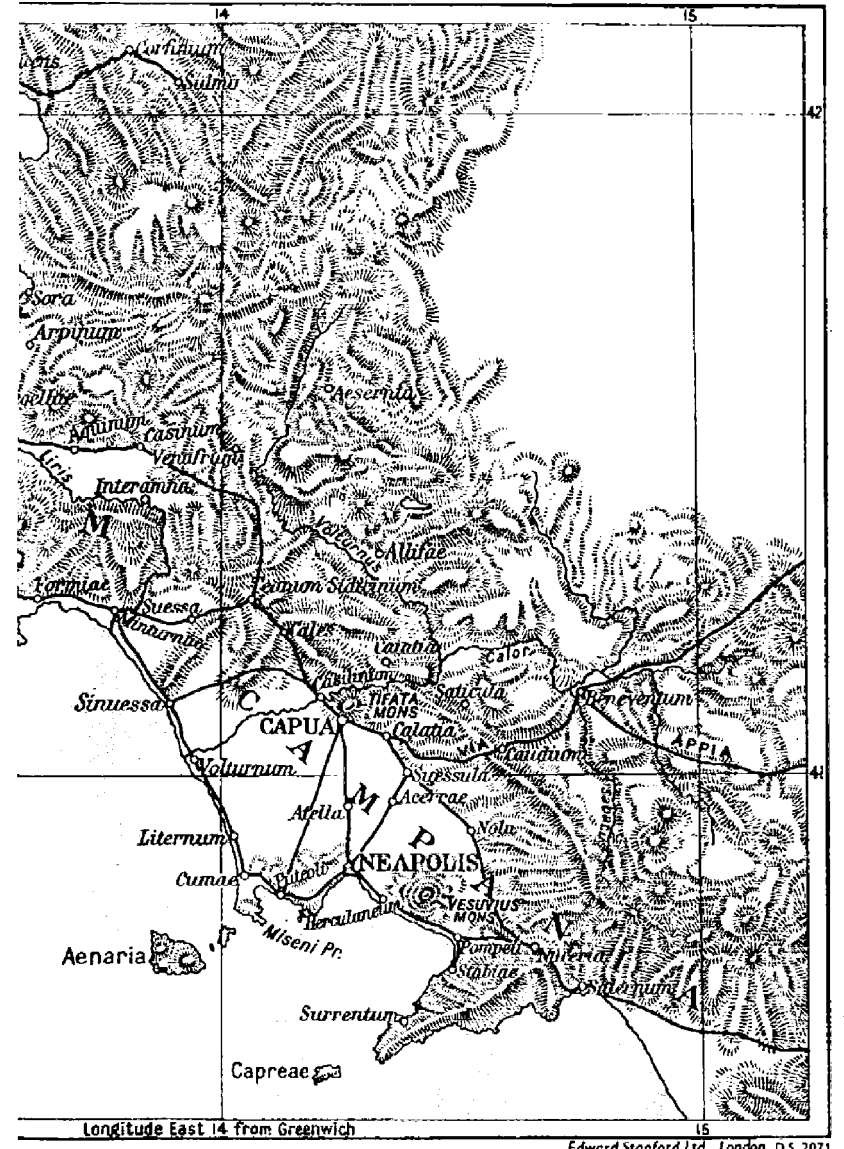
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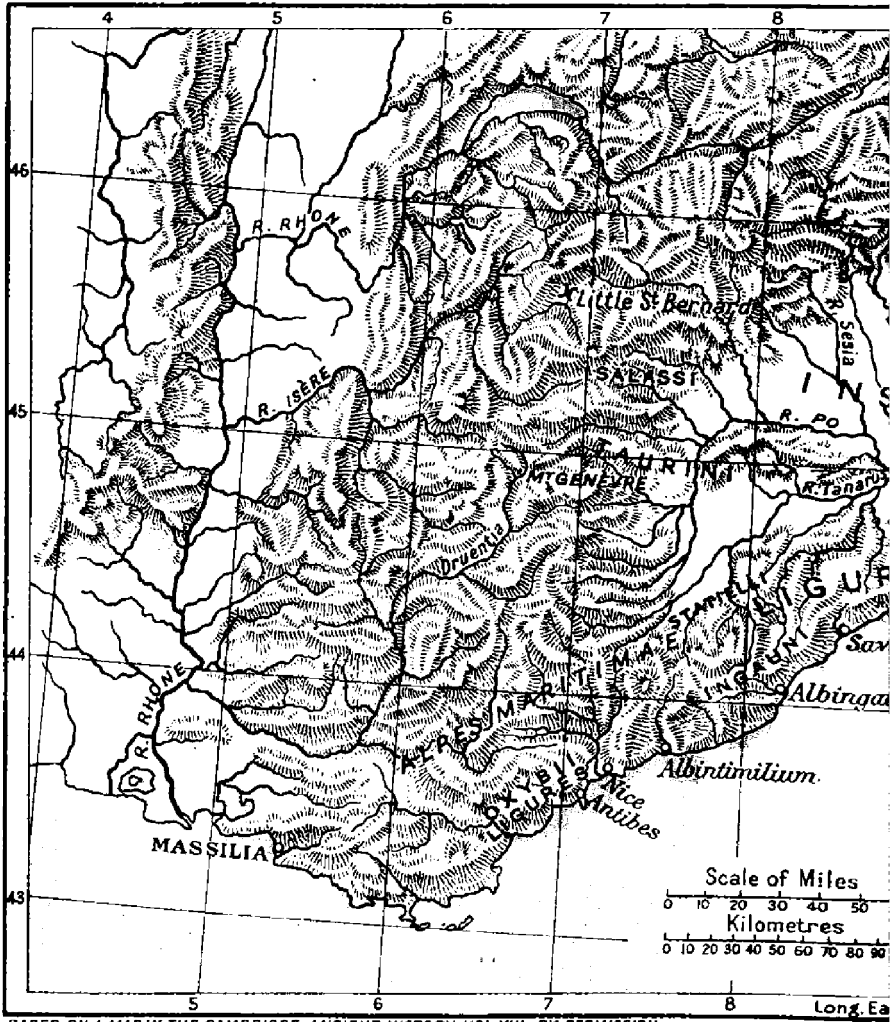
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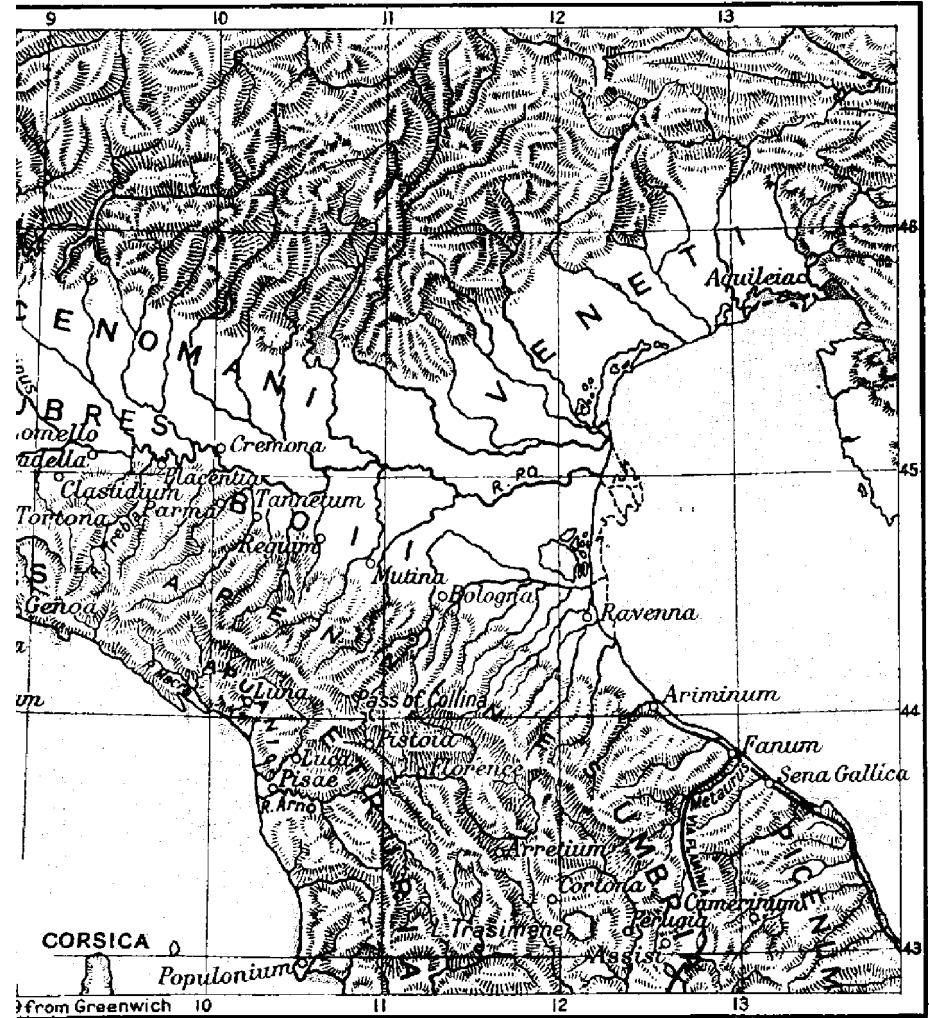


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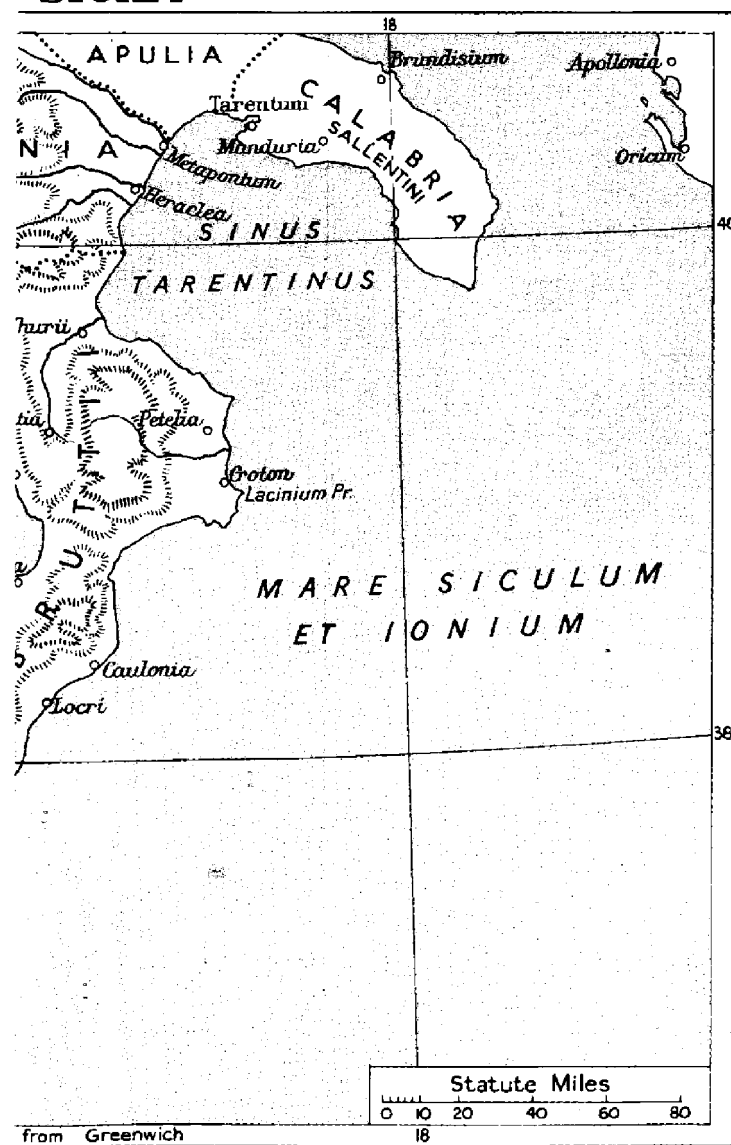
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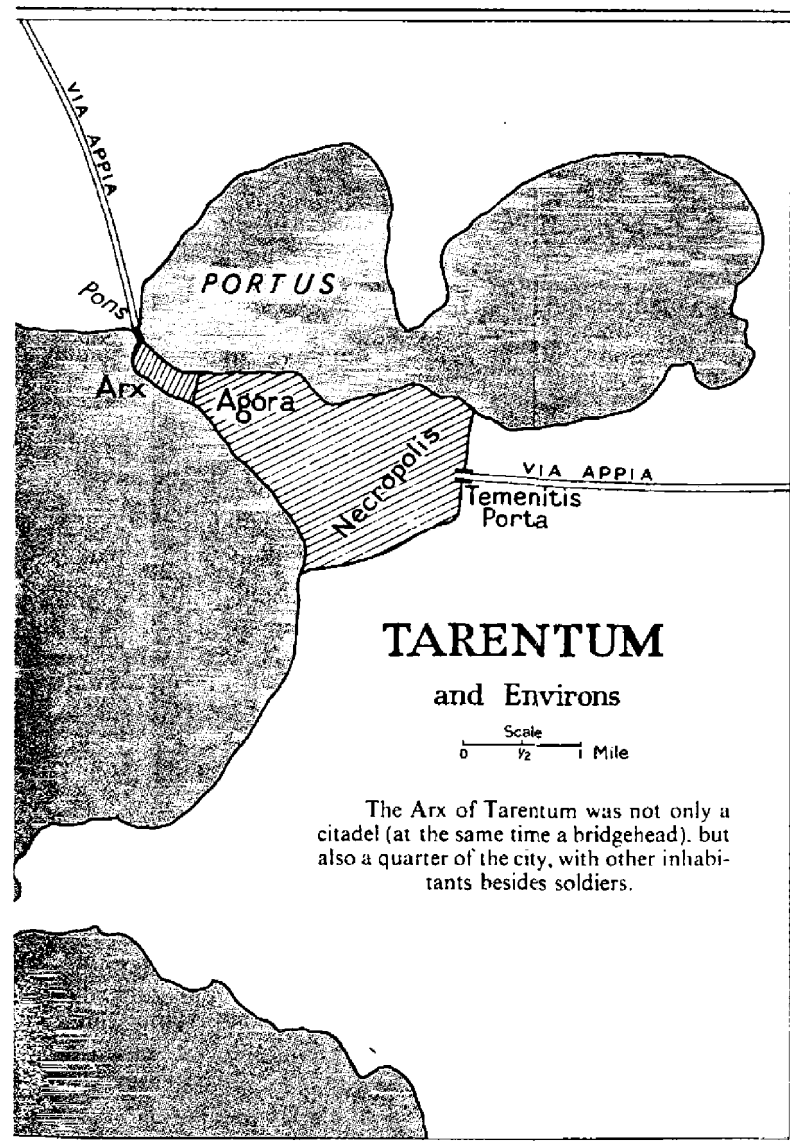
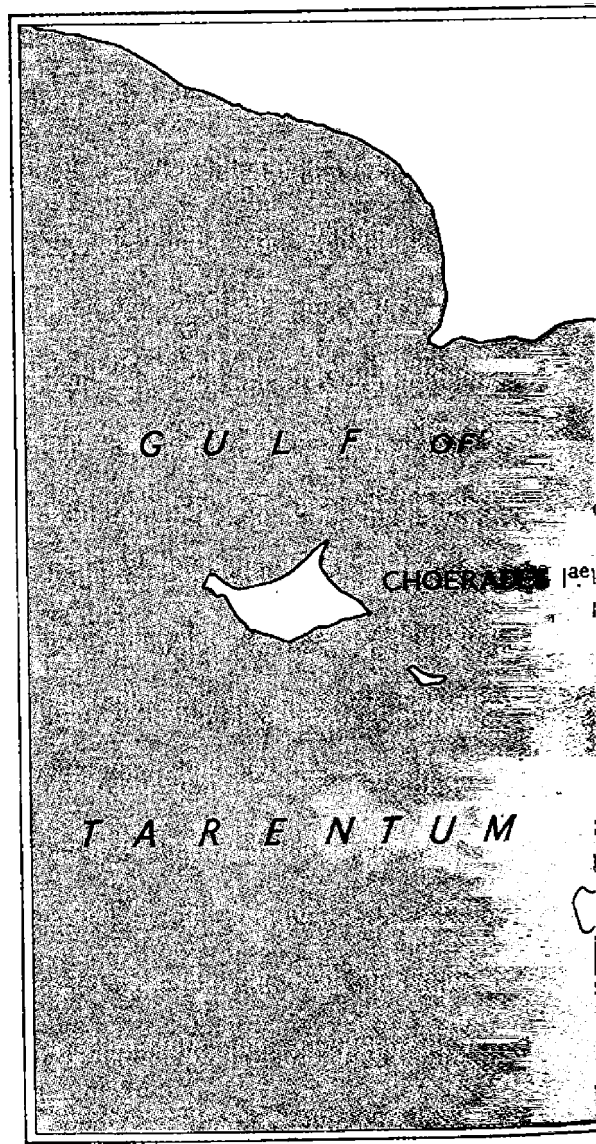


BASED ON A MAP IN THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY, VOL. VIII, BY PERMISSION.

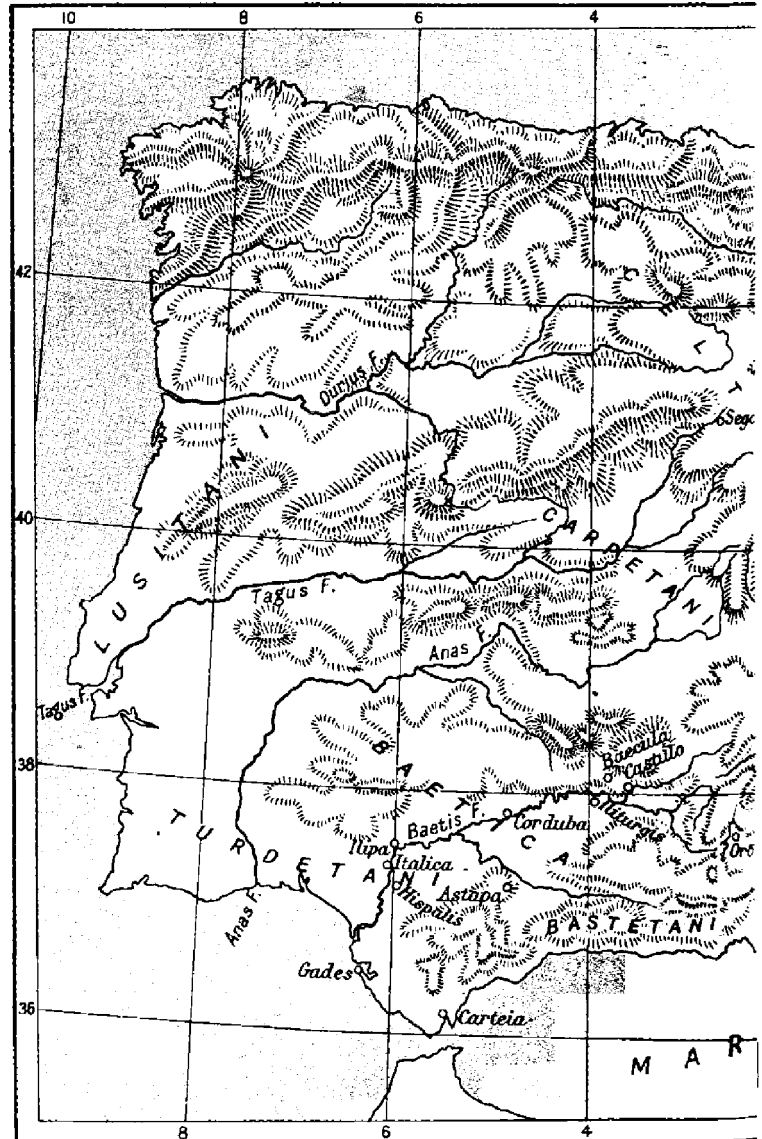
## SICILY



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## SPAIN IN 2<sup>ND</sup>



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## PUNIC WAR



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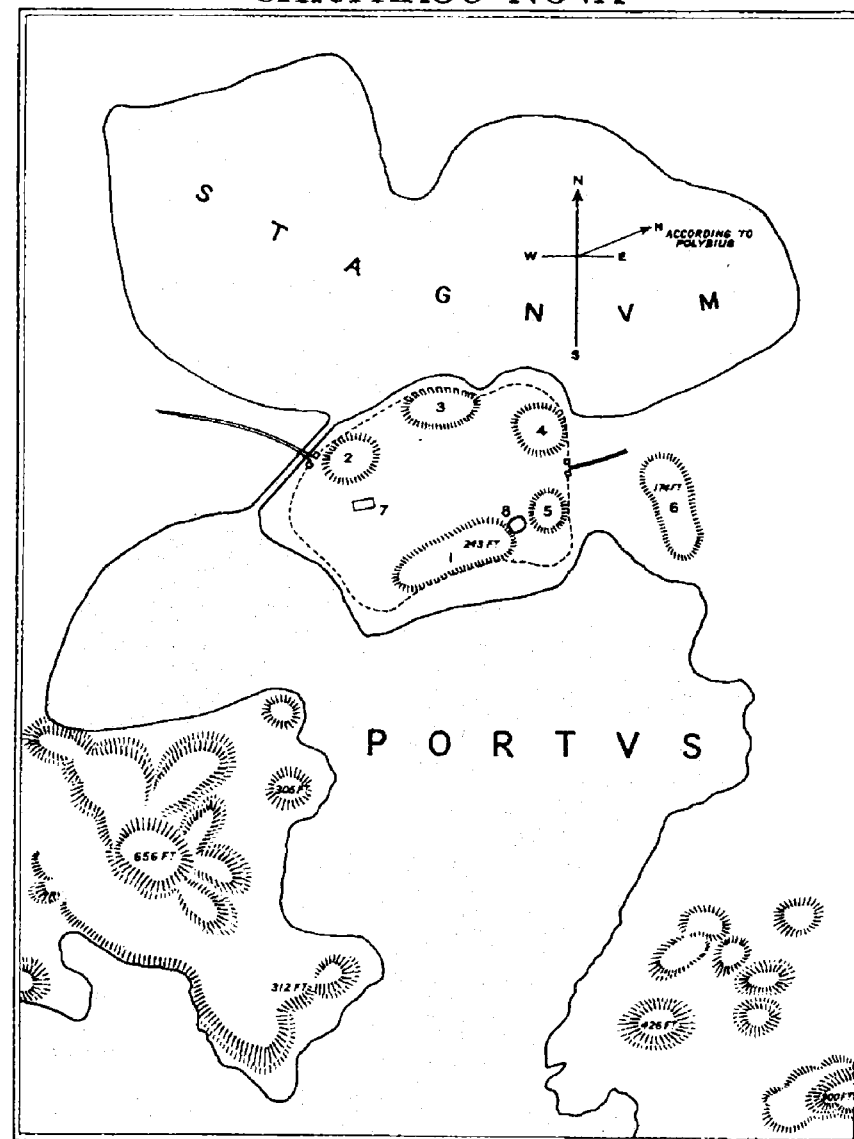


## CARTHAGO NOVA

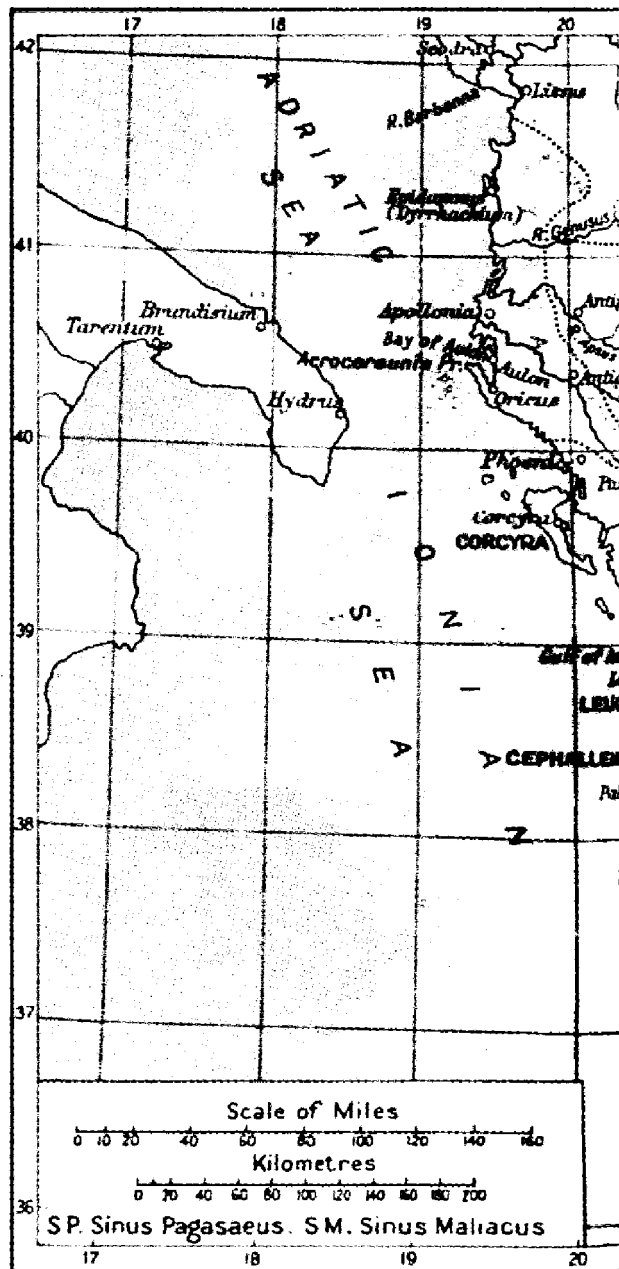
### KEY TO MAP OF CARTHAGO NOVA.

1. Hill of Aesculapius, citadel, 243 feet.
2. Hasdrubal's citadel.
3. Hill of Saturn.
4. Hill of Aletes.
5. Hill of Vulcan.
6. Hill of Mercury, Scipio's camp.
7. Forum.
8. Later Amphitheatre.

A broken line indicates approximately the circuit of the ancient walls. The shore-line of the lagoon, Almajar, which has completely disappeared, is largely conjectural. With the draining of the lagoon the modern city of Cartagena, an important naval base, has grown chiefly to the west and northwest.



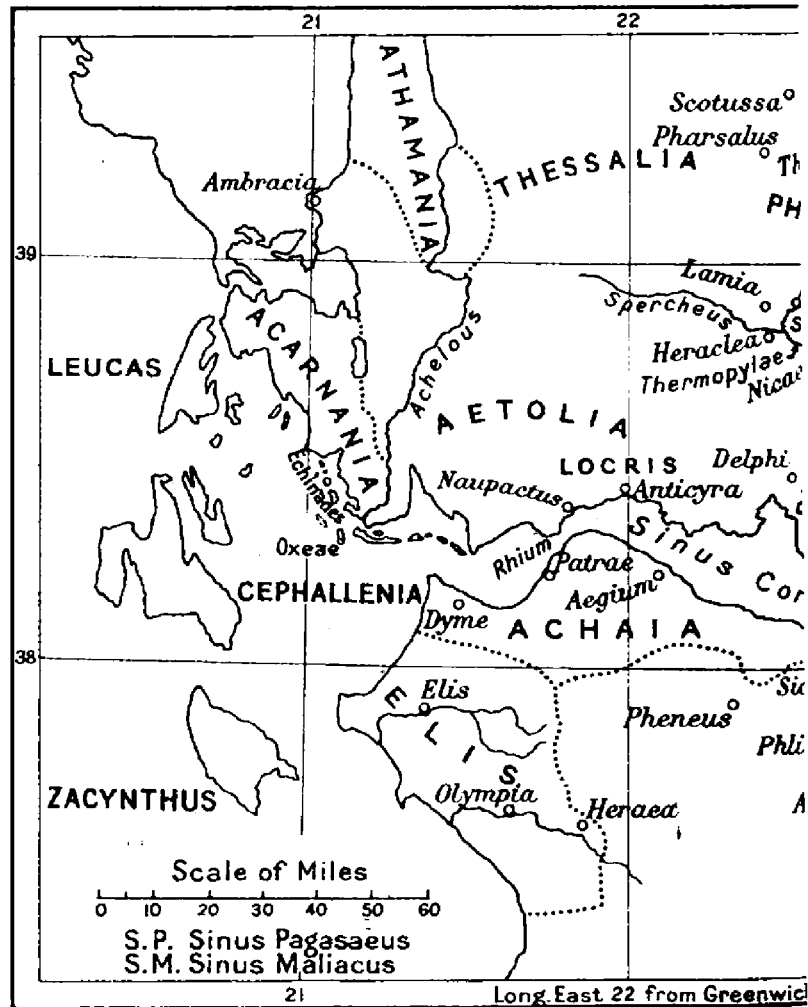
# GREECE



# AND MACEDONIA



# CENTRAL



# GREECE

